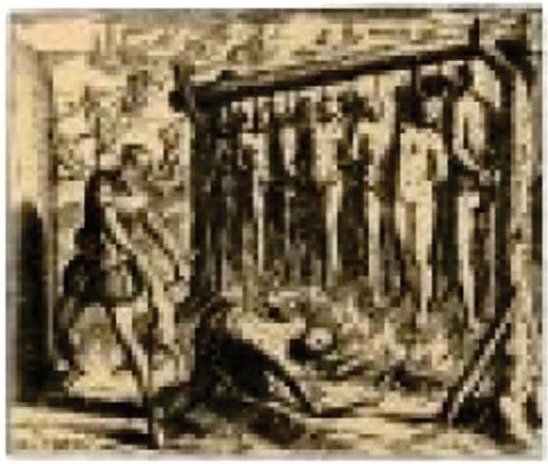
KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal History of Christianity

Volume 9

from the 16th to Early 18th Century



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BOOKS

KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal history of Christianity

VOLUME 9

MIDDLE OF i6. TO BEGINNING OF i8. YEAR H UNDER

From genocide in the New World to the beginning of the Enlightenment

tsewidmet especially to my friends Alfred Schwarz and Herbert Steffen, as well as to all those whose selfless support I, after my parents' constant e-hr.

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ɪ. KAPITEL

AMERICAN HOLOCAUST OR "MISSION SPRING TO BEGIN THE NEW ERA"

-In Europe, the Catholic Church had to accept the separation of several million believers and the loss of unity of faith as an exchange. At the same time, the horizons broadened and new countries and peoples came into focus. A new flowering and bearing of fruit began on the fields of mission.
Augusr SchuchtrtfHeinz Schütze (with ecclesiastical printing permissionJ'

-The cruel policy initiated by Columbus and pursued by his succtssori resulted in complete gene'cide.
Samuel Eliot Morisnn*

-The destruction of the Indians of the Americas wan, far and awsy, the most massive act of genocide in the history of the world-, -... the total extermination uf many American Indian peoples end the near<xterminarion of others, in numbers that eventually totaled close to ion oooooo.-
David E. Stannard'

-The New World experienced such a horrific enslavement and annihilation of mankind that it made your blood boil.
Cardinal Joseph Höffner, Archbishop of Cologne*

POPES AND PORTUGUESE REACH **AFRICA ON**

Of decisive importance for the emergence of the modern world was the expansion of the West into the oceans in the i yth and iöth centuries. It reached out to the oceans, to numerous overseas countries, not only to both Americas but, before and after, also to Asia and Africa. Enormous riches flowed to Europe, world trade began, the era of the capitalist economy, the Europeanization of the planet, the first tendencies towards "globalization".

There were many causal prerequisites for this - from an intensive reception of Aristotle to the expansion of the money business or long-distance trade, the transcontinental world economy, the addition of ocean navigation to coastal shipping. There were scientific discoveries, especially astronomical ones, often based on ancient knowledge, some of which had been passed on by Arabs. There were greater individual initiatives, a spirit of enterprise, increased nautical skills thanks to improved ocean-going ships (caravels), improved seafaring and sailing technology, improved measuring instruments and methods, improved cartography; the compass coming from China had been known in the West since the High Middle Ages.

Voyages of discovery were now planned more precisely, organized more rationally, became more and more extensive, driven above all by economic needs, by the desire for profit, the search for spices, for precious metals, but also, especially at the beginning, by so-called missionary goals, impulses, collective Christian missionary mania, old crusade ideas - indeed, by no means merely

The two were connected like the two sides of a piece of paper {Bcutin). Not infrequently, the missionaries appeared at the same time as the butchers, some heavily armed, o t h e r s brandishing crosses, even if it remains unclear to what extent the so-called spiritual, the eagerness to fight, the commercial motivation, the naked profit, the lust for power, trade and domination were only concealed. Perhaps Michel de Montaigne already saw this correctly in the i6th century. Perhaps Michel de Montaigne was right when he wrote bluntly in his -Essais-, which is still relevant today: -Who has ever set so high the utility of merchant shah and trade, for the sake of the pearl and pepper trade, to drag down so many cities, to exterminate so many nations, to raze so many millions of people, and to devastate the richest and most beautiful part of the world! Villainous victories!

In any case, the popes gave their blessing in the great division treaties of the

ty. The territories assigned to the treaty partners as ecclesiastical fiefdoms (Medina del Campo, Alca9ovas, Tordesillas) were granted to them in the mid-fifteenth century. Even Nicholas V, in his bull "Romanus Pontifex"

*4s4 The Portuguese were determined to conquer all the kingdoms of the Saracens, pagans and other "enemies of Christ" and to subject these people to eternal slavery. And it was no coincidence that the overseas raids began in the Iberian Peninsula, where the Reconquista, after centuries of battles, this "scourge for cutthroats" {Winius), ended with the conquest of Granada by Castile and Aragon (later called Spain) iqqz gera-

de finally defeated the last Arab state on European soil (+ 7 1; WHEREAS the Moors flee to Morocco, the Jews, chased away, to Portugal, the Balkans, finally

to the Netherlands. Of course, the Christian nations also rivaled each other; Portugal and Castile, Western Europe's strongest maritime powers, fought over shipping, trade, fishing and territorial rights.

Until the end of the Middle Ages, only three continents were known to the Christian world - Europe, Asia and Africa - and they symbolized, how could it be otherwise, the divine Trinity. But already

Soon this calculation, like many a Christian calculation, did not quite add up.

It was the Portuguese who were the first to take action, driven by daring, the joy of discovery, the expectation of profit, the lust for power and plunder.

Even before the Spaniards, they created an important fleet from the early i5 century onwards to realize their expansionist ambitions promoted by Pope John XXIII. Especially under the determined Henry the Navigator - himself by no means a navigator, nor, as repeatedly claimed, the founder of the world's first "maritime school", a nautical academy in Sagres, but also Grand Master of the Order of Christ and thus user of the financial resources of the former Templars (VII457 1 - at
So the Portuguese insisted on their maritime interests.
they systematically explored and plundered towards the south
the Westahican coast.

i q i They t o o k the Muslim Ceuta in northern Morocco in a coup d'état with the strong participation of the royal family. In the richest and most beautiful place in the country, they slaughtered thousands of people, including unarmed women and children, and then started the tedcum in the quickly "Catholicized" mosque. Sources speak of a religious struggle, but apparently it was also about economic aspects, as Ceuta was the end point of trans-Saharan caravan routes, a transshipment point for gold, black slaves, etc.

3"" *4-6 the city is subject to Prince Henry. *4*$ <*- Pope Martin V establishes the bishopric of Ceuta.

*4*9 the sailors discover Madeira, where they cultivate sugar cane with Moorish servi in the middle of the century, the model of transatlantic slavery in America. The Portuguese
They continued their journey, not least to find the sea route to India.*4i • they reached the Azores, which were given their own bishop a hundred years later.•4‹• they managed the first
Capture of black African slaves, prelude to the enslavement of non-Muslims on a grand scale. -In 443, the Pope confirms them a Exclusive privilege for trips south of Cape ßojador. And when they •4‹ sailing around Cape Verde for the first time, the westernmost point of Africa.

kas (today Senegal) and the Azores, they made the island of Arguin (today Mauritania) the first Portuguese factoria {feitoria) on the west coast, a fortified transshipment point, especially for the unfree, for gold, ivory, turtles and other goods;

' 7 century by the Christian brother nations of the Dutch, British and French. "Obviously, the Europeans - unlike the Arabs - did not intend to conquer the treasures.

and products, but they wanted to 'take them' (Der Große Ploetz).

Pope Nicholas V, whose -eiric political goal-, according to the Catholic Kiihne5 -is peace-, is entitled•45* in the ßulle -Dum diver- sas- Pormgal to war, rob and enslave the Muslims.

ven; only a few years later, he authorizes the country to cross against them and grants it a monopoly on trade and conquests between Cape Bojador and India - a fundamental carte blanche for Portugal's overseas expansion (Geiss). The very next year, Pope Calixtus III granted the Grand Master of the Order of Christ a carte blanche for the spiritual and ecclesiastical leadership of all current and future Pomigian occupations within the aforementioned coordinates, for the missionization of all territories from Cape Bojador via Guinea "usque ad Indos". The African business was "secured internationally by means of papal bulls" (Reinhard). Shortly before i q6o, the year of Henry the Navigator's death, the Portuguese discover the Cape Verde Islands. They become, 6oo kilometers off the West African coast, a main transhipment point for slaves practically until 7 and o n l y *975

completely independently- •47• the Portuguese reach the Gold Coast

(Guinea coast) in what is now the Ghari-*4 z the Congo estuary. In the same year, following the discovery of an important gold mine, they founded the city and fortress of El Mina to secure it on the Atlantic Ocean

(where itolumbus already appears), the first and for a long time the strongest fort of the Kiiste, a port of departure for gold, later, when the French, Dutch, Swedes and Danes also arrived, primarily a trading center for slaves.

437s d 88 Bartolomeu Diaz is the first European to circumnavigate the southern tip of Africa, the Cape of Storms (then, in anticipation of

soon

India, renamed Cape of Good Hope) and establishes Portuguese bases in South Africa. i4q 8 finds Vas- co da Gama via Mo9ambique {where Portuguese colonial

The journey took him by sea to India (which lasted until*97s) and Malindi (in present-day Kenya) and he reached the spice port of Calicut. When one of his men was asked about their plans, he replied, according to Vasco da Gama's logbook entry: -We come to seek Christians and spices." Since i yoo, the Portuguese have sailed to India year after year in order to destroy Muslim trade there, according to the sources, with "systematic terror". Italians, Weiser and Fugger were also involved from an early stage. Under Alexander VI, Rome promoted the Portuguese ventures in Africa - almost as crusades to spread the faith" (von Pastor). The Castilian Franciscan Cardinal Francisco Jiminez {Ximenes) de Cisncros (d. i 5 xy), at times confessor to the queen and advisor to the ruling couple, was no stranger to ecclesiastical brutality. H e vigorously pursued Spain's aggression in North Africa, occasionally instigating it and once even fighting on the front line himself. He also eagerly pushed for the forced Christianization of religious minorities on the Pyrenean Peninsula and was naturally behind the royal decree of i i February i 5oz, which forced the Moors throughout Castile to go into exile or be taught. Yes, as Grand Inquisitor he burned z5oo people, according to Hoensbroech over 3ooo - one of the great national personalities of 5pania who brought about its 'golden age'" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche); a mas-

The murderer is venerated as a saint in some parts of the country.

ALxxANnER V I. GIVE AWAY A KOxzixxNT

While the Portuguese were plundering an extensive colonial empire in Africa and Asia, the Spaniards were expanding in Central and South America and, despite starting somewhat later, had the Portuguese

soon outflanked them, not on the southern course, as is well known, but on the way west. They used the nearby Canary Islands, which were subjugated on various cruzadas, soon Hispanized and missionized, subjugated and Christianized at the same time, especially Gran Canaria, where they caused the Guanches to die out before they could perish as their forced labourers.

From the Canary Islands, Spain, which dominated Europe until the middle of the ty. From the Canaries, the Spanish, who dominated Europe until the middle of the 16th century, sought to reach Asia, India and China with their fabulous treasures of gold, spices and exotic luxury goods, but ended up in a continent previously unknown to them, then named America after the first name of Americo Vespucci.

The Florentine agent of the Medici in Seville had undertaken voyages of exploration in the late i$_5$. In the late 15th century, the Florentine agent of the Medici in Seville had undertaken exploratory voyages to the new lands on behalf of Spain and described himself in a travelogue as the discoverer of the continent {- mundus novus-}. Highly respected in his time, influential, widely translated and published, Americo Vespucci was regarded in humanist circles as the best ethnographer of the New World. The two German humanists and cosmographers Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringmann also praised him as its discoverer in their - Cosmographiae universalis in- troductio" from i$_{1}$»7 Ringmann saw no reason for this; seriously-
to contest -this continent after its discovery Americus,
a man of keen intellect, 'Amerige', as it were the land of the Americus, or 'America' ... - Both authors included the word in a corresponding map of their work, and in the middle of the i 6th century the name America became common for the South American, and later also for the North American continent.

But whoever may have set foot on the American mainland first, Vespucci was the first t o recognize the error of the Columbus and named the -New World- as his own continent - and the Iberian invaders now opened a genocide without equal, opened it not only as Christians, but also in the name of Christianity. Yes, the Europeans got over the

themselves in dispute over the lure of wealth. A bloody conflict was already threatening between them when the Holy See acted as peacemaker.

As early as*4si - the Spanish Reconquista, the war against the Is- lam, had just ended with the fall of the economically flourishing uniate- rate of Granada - the Conquista began overseas, the war against paganism, the great Iberian robbery with -cross-
With the "tug of war", especially in the Atlantic coastal regions of Africa and America, Spain's rise to world power began. As in the Old World, spiritual and secular power, the Catholic Church and the colonial state now collaborated in the New, especially in the overseas territories of Portugal and even more so of Spain, all based on the principle of do ut des. - Around i dbo, there were still around4 million Indians living in the whole of Spanish America,
were around -49z, according to the estimate8'>' 7 to ioo million, whereby
35 million is considered plausible.

At that time, the Aragonese Alexander VI. divided the New World into two spheres of interest in the bull "Inter cetera", defined the border between the Spanish and Portuguese occupations, and transferred all this to the Spanish; All this in the service of Kings Ferdinand and Isabella, "that you may induce the peoples of the said islands and countries to accept the Christian religion, as is your wish and duty, and never let any dangers or troubles deter you, in the firm hope and confidence that Almighty God will bring your endeavors to a happy conclusion.- (Later, of course, Columbus asked for priests for the Indian mission in vain).

In quick succession, however, the Roman dedicated the Anne xions five edicts, sometimes also referred to as the "West Indian feudal edicts of Alexander VI", with which he created the conditions for two European empires.

The Pope gives away what does not belong to him, which is why thel • s33 murdered Inca prince Atahualpa calls him insane. But Borgia simply gave away all the "right-
the territories claimed by the "believing" princes {in reference to the right of finder, which goes back to Roman law) as "terra nul-

lius-, as "res nullius-, thus declaring the case to be lawful, but only - on condition of the spread of the Christian faith - as well as the financing of the cooperating church apparatus, the maintenance of the clergy, churches and dioceses. For one hand washes the other, even if this papal "legitimation" was of course not even recognized by the other Christian powers of Europe, especially not *by* Portugal, where rivalries with Spain repeatedly flared up.

In the following year, i 494 . the New We1t in the Verdrag of Tordesillas, the old Castilian city, is awarded somewhat differently, the generous -donatio Alexandrina- is modified and corrected at the instigation of Portugal, but again according to the Borgia's ruling, and the pending land conquest is divided by a north-south line now running 3yo miles west of the Azores; Spain receives the monopoly for conquests, seafaring and trade in the west, Portugal in the east; whereby it only emerges afterwards that large parts of South America, including Brazil, discovered by the Portuguese Cabral as a result of navigational errors, fall to Lisbon. Brazil, i yoo discovered by the Portuguese Cabral as a result of navigational errors, fell to Lisbon. (In the middle of the i 6th century, around 3OOo to4 O Europeans lived in Portuguese America, at the end of the century

Ludwig von Pastor, panegyrist of the deputies, praises Alexander VI for this "spreading of the Gospel among the heathens", but claims: "There can be no question of a gift (!) of what did not belong to the Pope, of the destruction of the freedom of the Americans by Alexander VI." And on the very next page he writes: "The entire gift (!) of the rediscovered lands was expressly linked by the Pope to the condition that the Spanish Majesties would themselves ensure the spread of Christianity.""

Modern embellishers of salvation history like to play down the church's part in these "exploratory journeys" and "colonization movements", to minimize or idealize the Christian "missionary will", to describe what was above all violent appropriation, subjugation, exploitation of labour, enslavement, outright murder, mass murder, as

The term "maritime exploration," "commercial development," "*economic* exploitation," "expansion of one's own resources," "expansion of markets," "elimination of the deficit in coin metal," "colonial penetration," "civilizational exchange," or, which doesn't sound bad either, but comes closer to the point, "strategic needs. Even the Kleine Ploetz, summarized in keywords, assesses the consequences of the discoveries in **Haiti,** Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, China and Japan in an astonishingly positive light: "Spread of European culture Enrichment of the sciences, especially geography and natural history. Revolution in the field of world trade. The Mediterranean and the Italian trading cities lose importance. World trade comes into the hands of the Spanish and Portuguese, later the Dutch and English. The maritime powers become rich through the exploitation of overseas colonies
{precious metals} and based their global political power on it. Beginning of emigration to America (adventurers, capitalists, traders; Negro slaves) - Around two million African slaves were shipped to the soon-to-be-named "American continent" in the• century.
highly praised land of freedom, about that percentage have already died
during the crossing.

-. .. **AND CoLUMBUs** DAY IS A **CELEBRATIO 'i"**

In reality, things initially continued in the old crusade tradition, in the manner of well-known missionary offensives with God and all the saints. Since Alexander VI, the papacy had taken a keen interest in overseas missions {Lutz), as it soon lost so much ground due to the reforms in Europe. And the guiding principles of the Spanish kings of the Age of Enlightenment also included the conversion of the natives and high revenues for the crown, as always: God and money. - The term "discovery", which is commonly used in literature, refers to the discovery of long-settled and therefore long "discovered" areas.

of the world is not only wrong, but also discriminatory {for the -discovered"), some more Native American-influenced Latin america countries are rightly inonieri.'-.

Ferdinand II the Catholic, lord of Sicily and Aragon, i¢6p his cousin Isabella I the Catholic, Queen of Castile-León, and by merging the two states created the basis for the Spanish monarchy and its huge plundering expansion.

attacks overseas. Isabella, vain and God-fearing, introduced the Inquisition in Castile. Extended to Aragon a few years later, the network of Inquisition courts was the only one of its kind.

the country" (Vogler). Above all, Mari persecuted the -New Christians- {Conversos), the Jews who had converted to Christianity, ordered them to secretly adhere to Judaism and killed zooo Conversos in Castile until *49. They punished about iy ooo, confiscated their &sitz and financed

thus deu war against the Moors in Granada. No sooner had the Moors capitulated on January 14 - against the Christians' assurances that they would respect their religion, their rights and their property (which the Moors did not adhere to, instead allowing forced conversion and expulsion to follow), than the Jews were expelled from Spain in the same year and the Moors were expelled from Spain.

also surprisingly allowed Christopher Columbus to embark on the voyage that led to the discovery of America, after Genoa, England and, after many years of negotiations, even the Portuguese court, which was well-disposed towards him, had already turned him down, probably less because of conspicuous self-importance than because of a lack of scientific seriousness; he had assumed that Japan was where the as yet undiscovered New World lay.

The otherwise sleepy port of Patos in Andalusia, where Koĺum-bus departed, was teeming with ships that were used to deport the dispossessed Jews (a total of two thirds of the country, around 6o percent of all Jews in Europe) from Spain at the height of summer, miserable heaps of misery, often consumed by hunger. Half-dead mothers held their dying children in their arms, complained a contemporary. "I can hardly tell you how greedy and cruel they have been treated ... -

Two years later, Pope Alexander VI granted the Spanish

The ruling couple received the honorary title of "Los Reyes Catõlicos- {Catholic Kiinige).

The new continent, where the Spaniards then also burned -New Christians- (Ju- den), was unknown to the Middle Ages, unless Scandinavian sailors reached it, still not quite certain, around the year iooo via Iceland and Griinland, around g86 the Icelandic Bjarni Herjólfsson, around root Leif Eriksson.

Columbus was ordered to take possession of all the land, islands and continents found on the sea route to India - "lslas y tierras firmes del mar océano", for the two Catholic rulers - in order, it was written in a letter of protection, "to serve God and spread the right faith and also for our benefit and advantage".

The latter, of course, above all.

In return, mau granted the navigator stupendous privileges, the voyage, a share of the profits from trade, even the monopoly for future mercantile activities; he became admiral of the Oceanic Sea, governor and vice-king of the "discoveries" still to be made, whereby mau himself included his heirs, who were also to be ennobled like him. However, sooner or later, the Spanish crown took over most of these "Capitu-

laciones of Santa Fé- (x y. April• 4s •l . Nowhere in the articles was there any mention of religious activity or missionary commitment, only of "goods", "merchandise", "purchases" and "trade", -business".

Columbus {it. Colombo, span. Colón), the Genoese, represented Genoa's trading houses in Lisbon, then entered Spanish service and planned a western route across the Atlantic to India. {"Buscar el levante por el poniente-. To seek the east by the west). As a sailor, Columbus was of unusual navigational and exploratory effectiveness, an almost unparalleled master of coastal and ocean navigation, but religiously a thoroughly medieval man, strongly dependent on the clergy, not only firmly convinced of the end of the world in i yo years, but also of the assistance of the Most High on his voyages - -The wonderful divine proof of this are the many

Wounds that He caused during the journey, as you can see from my report," he confesses in the logbook on March 5, .*493

With his churchliness, his pious mysticism and his his addiction to gold, pearls and precious stones, his manhunting and slave-trading practices, he embodied only the banal, ubiquitous mixture of Christianity and possessions. At times he wore a monk's habit, was perhaps a lay member of the Franciscans, and was in any case associated with the order for years, which enabled him to make decisive contact with Queen Isabella, but he was also supported by the Dominican Diego de Deza. And Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, who was once largely responsible for Jan Husen's martyrdom, influenced him both theologically and geographically with his -Tractatus de imagine mundi-, to which Columbus made almost 9oo marginal notes, considering him to be the divine path to truth - as he considered himself more and more each year to be the -herald of the new heaven and the new earth-, the man of providence, the pioneer of Western Christianity, who also began by burning Indian chieftains.

At the same time, he had the charm of the Spanish Majesties by letter, praised the peacefulness, the tractability of the natives, swore that there was "no better people on earth", although it was true -that they were naked-! He himself and his crew, on the other hand, were regarded as gods, as "beings from heaven". This mission was certainly a brief misunderstanding, as Columbus captured some of them at the very first opportunity and then more and more; while he sailed from island to island, gave each one a name, declared each one to be the property of the Spanish rulers and had a scribe certify that no one contradicted him.

Columbus forced his prisoners to provide information about the economic potential, precious metals, luxury goods, all the people who could either be worked to the bone like lawless cattle or turned into a permanent export article, deported to Spain and sold there like erotic animals in the name of the Holy Trinity. Already on his second voyage, he introduced regular slave trading, hounded the Indians with bloodhounds, and when he was on a great slave hunt i qq 5 x yoo

Arawak caught, men, fraternities, Kindeç and sent 5oo of the best to Spaiiien, died ooo already on the way.

Almost none of the Arawak tribe, estimated to be at least three to four million people at the time of their -discovery- iq9z, were still alive i y3 y. Those who were not killed directly by the Christians, fell in battle, were hanged or burned as prisoners, often died through forced labor, through lack of resistance to European diseases or through massacres, whereby children were also killed so that they did not fall into the hands of the horny Spaniards. And yet the mass of Indians were to become "the best and most sinful Christianity" in the whole world. Even the Handbook of Church History admits this,

-After almost two years of "colonization", "the population of the Antilles" dropped "to*4 and finally to a few hundred".

Columbus was even more interested in gold and specimens than slaves, and he thought carefully about how to collect and transport all this glory and how to distribute it. He had made fantastic but unfulfillable promises to the Spanish court, and the hunger for gold remained a main motive for all his voyages, which he openly admitted. Already in the -Tractatus de imagine mundi - he had peppered the chapter on Asia's gold, silver and precious stones with marginals. And on his first voyage to Hispaniola {Hain), the second largest island in the Greater Antilles, which was soon to be cupped without a trace, he reported to 5pania: -On this island there are many spices and large mines with gold and other metals.

Columbus forced the Indians to do hard labor and **regular work.** mäBy tributes. In the province of Cicao in Haiti, where he suspected gold fields, he had the hands of anyone over the age of fourteen who did not fulfill their debt to bring gold chopped off and the victims bled to death. A thirst for honor (what the Spaniards call "et afàn de honra") and greed were the main reasons for his reach into the distance. After all, Herodotus already thought that "the most fertile edges of the earth are richly blessed with treasures". And the pursuit of the fabled land of gold, El Dorado (in the interior of northern South America), was a major motivation.

rica) or to the gold island of Ophir (in Arabia, the East Indies, Ceylon, South Africa), which was supposedly already haunted by Solomon, led to fierce competition.

Columbus was as ambitious as he was greedy and occasionally - literally overcome by greed for gold- (Bitterli). A lifelong annual pension (io ooo Maravedis}, which was to be given by the Queen to the first person to see land - it was the sailor Rodrigo de Triana, who sighted one of the (far more than* 7 o) Bahama Islands from the bow of the -Pinta - at two o'clock in the morning on I L. OctOber iqqz - this prize was not awarded to the sailor, but to Columbus, as he claimed to have noticed a light on the evening before.

Did God move the famous explorer in the same way as money and gold? After all, even the logbook note from November i z. *49* records his intention to teach the Christian faith to the innate in Spain and then to spread it in their mother country. In this way, he wrote, - after a short time a multitude of peoples will be fully converted to our holy faith
and at the same time gain large territories and riches and all these peoples for Spain, because there are undoubtedly huge amounts of gold in these areas.

God and gold again. And slaves, of course. For the previous inhabitants, the owners of the land, if they did not perish from imported diseases {as half the population of Hairi allegedly did from a flu brought in by1443), became slaves.
enslaved and deported, and their islands were afterwards like
extinct, deserted, until the British populated it with blacks in the ty. In the 19th century, the British populated it with blacks, exploited it agriculturally and turned it into one of the worst hubs of the slave trade between Africa and America. It was not until later in the 20th century that they gave the Bahamas self-government and independence.

Above all, however, the incipient European **expansion** included war, the most costly in history. Even then, the Admiral of the Ocean built a fort - incidentally from the timber of his flagship Santa Maria, which ran aground at midnight on Christmas - "the first European military base in the

Western Hemisphere" (tin). And in February of the following year, he sent twelve ships to Europe with bad spices, a shock of papageia, unhappy Indian slaves and gold worth 3oooo ducats. But sensational gold discoveries were only made later on the mainland without him.'-

Columbus sailed four times to America, which he firmly believed to be a part of Asia, India, until his death.

The first departure took place on the 3rd Angus•49* with three ships, including the Santa Maria, whose poor condition he complained about. There were only a scanty number of volunteers. He had confessed together, communicated and, after a four-week sojourn on the canals, finally reached one of the Bahamian islands after *36* days in a swift and undisturbed voyage. October x4g z one of the Bahamas, the island of Gua- nahani (which he baptized in the name of the Redeemer -San Salvador-); dsrauf Cuba {occupied by the Spanish for four centuries, then controlled by the USA bls*93a)¡ tind Haiti, land which, however, he
for Japan (first reached by Portuguese sailors in §q3)
or other islands off the coast of Asia, the "West Indies". He was so dominated by this obsession that one day he called the crew of his flotilla on deck and had them swear that Cuba was not an island, but part of the Asian mainland.

The second time Columbus traveled on s5. September i¢q3 with seven- ten caravels, i 5oo men, now including soldiers, lancers, priests and monks - the transition from discovery to subjugation, the actual beginning of the Spanish Conquista.

On his third voyage49 -i 5oo with six ships, painstakingly assembled sailors, colonists and this time even three
He first reached the South American mainland near the mouth of the Orinoco and Trinidad with a dozen women. In Haiti, however, he was arrested after a colonist coup {in part because of a small gold discovery) and was brought back to Spain in chains at the beginning of October i 5oo together with his brothers Bartolomé and Diego by a high court official, rehabilitated twice, but stripped of his offices as governor and viceroy.

Columbus complained deeply about his princes, to whom he had "served me with so much sincere love ..., with a loyalty that had never been equaled before. And after all, the Highnesses confirmed his and his brothers' titles and privileges, and even allowed him another voyage, albeit with such poorly equipped four soul sellers that one suspected the Majesties had
want to get rid of. He returned from this fourth expedition i you--S 4 to the east coast of Central America, the most dangerous voyage in nautical terms, the most important for him and the one he called -alto viaj#-.
lumbus returned to Spain ill at the age of fifty-three. He laboriously followed the court on a mule to collect money and secure offices for his son and died, almost forgotten, even without an entry in the church register, on May so. May xyo6 iii Valladolid, perhaps from the plague."

His heirs litigated with the crown for thirty years, retaining the title of duke and one or two landed estates in the New World, but losing all other legal titles. Columbus himself was given a magnificent monument by King Ferdinand in Seville, where he was initially buried in the Carthusian monastery. This led to efforts to canonize him in the 19th century, with the participation of almost the entire French episcopate. And Howard Zinn, who in the moving epilogue of his book - A People's History of the United States - calls for a new way of looking at history - "different from what I had leamed in college and in graduate school and from what I saw in the history texts given to students all over the country" - writes *in 1999* of the history books of children in the USA, "everything begins with heroic events - -there is no bloodshed - and Columbus Day is a celebration."

THE GREATEST MURDER IN HISTORY BEGINS

The Conquista, the greatest genocide in history, began with Columbus' voyages to the Caribbean. As early as 5y8, only yoo Indians of the million-strong population of Haiti were still alive, according to the historian Oviedo, who adds that God wanted it that way because of their sins•49 Columbus founded Santo Domingo, the oldest colonized by Europeans.

Orr of the Americas, whose archbishops held the title of Primate of the Americas for a century. From this center of Spanish power, the massacres spread in the following decades not only to the neighboring islands - Puerto Rico and Jamaica were conquered i yoq, Cuba i 5 i i - but also to the mainland of South, Central and North America. -In the Caribbean region, almost the entire indigenous population fell victim to the Conquista within 3o years (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche)."

For all the exorbitant shyness of these Christian-Catholic raids, we have a rather unsuspicious contemporary Zengen, even Priesteç Mónch, finally a bishop, who was supported at the Spanish court by two Inquisitors, the Grand Inquisitor Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and Cardinal Adrian Florensz of Utrecht, Inquisitor for Aragón, Navarre, Castile, León, also teacher of Charles V., then Pope Hzdrian VI, then Pope Hzdrian VI {i az-i 5z3).

In addition, our man of conscience, the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas l>474** J< 6), born of French nobility in Sevilía, was soon and for decades in Haiti, Cuba, iii Nicaragua, Guatemala, Peru and Mexico. Yes, Las Casas had first worked as a settler and even as a priest with Indian slaves.

management of his estates in Haiti and Cuba, which he also co-conquered. However, shaken by the exploitation, the atrocities and the massacres, the forty-year-old underwent a complete change of heart, made the protection of the Indians, the fight against the conquista, his life's work and since i 5 i 8 achieved this through his reform plans, memoranda, debates and efforts, which were most strongly reflected in the "New Laws" (Leyes Nuevas) of the

Spanish crown of i 54 s mirrors, a gradual abolition of Iridian enslavement in the colonies, a ban on forced labor, the brutal treatment. Las Casas therefore crossed the ocean seven times and finally demanded the withdrawal of Spain from America if the barbarism against the freedom and lives of the Indians continued.

A pious wish. All the bans were only on paper. In Peru, the viceroy Vasco Nilitez de Vela, who tried to enforce them, lost his life in the process. In short, in the New World the laws were not observed by the colonial or ecclesiastical authorities, but rather reversed in central provisions as a result of their storms of protest. The emperor gave in. The regular silver shipments to finance his wars in Europe were more important to him. The situation was similar in the Portuguese colonies. - In the z6. century, there was no missionary in Brazil who shared Las **Casas**' views on the Indians {Thomasl. But even more recently they had an impact on the so-called Latin American liberation theology.'-

Las Casas, who affirms that the Greael and Las Casas described -Having "seen with my own eyes" countless others, it is a general rule - among the Spanish - "to be cruel, not only cruel, but extraordinarily cruel". They take pleasure in "inventing all kinds of unusual cruelties, the crueler the better."

The Dominican friar, perhaps the most prominent non-European churchman to this day, but also still badly remembered by his compatriots, reports the slaughter and strangling of old people and pregnant women, of newborn babies, which these Christians know from the breasts of their mothers, mocking the rocks threw them into the water. They killed as if for spafi or for sport and buried many alive. They also killed mother and child at the same time, cut the throats of two-year-olds, fed their bloodhounds with live dismembered Indian babies in front of those who gave birth to them. They s e v e r e d the wombs of women, preferably pregnant women - an "early **specialty**" of the crusade killers, as was the killing of women.

small children in the most cruel ways possible {von Paczensky). They stabbed the robbed, the duped with lances, split their heads, their whole bodies with a single blow, making bets, outwitting each other. In short, they h e w e d these people to pieces - not unlike raiding a flock of sheep ... -

The multi-volume handbook of church history, a catholi-default value, i q85 overwrites all this and much more: • Early missions at the beginning of the modern era-.-°

The Good Messengers liked to make wide gallows and "hang thirteen and thirteen Indians on each of them in honor and glorification of the Redeemer and the twelve apostles, then put wood and fire under them and burned them all alive". Occasionally they lured the island's nobles into a barn and burned them all "alive". Usually, however, they served "the great and the noble stewing on the grate over a weak fire, +until they gradually raised a pitiful cry and gave up the ghost in unspeakable pain ... -

How fortunate that the wretched avoided the Christians, who at first greeted them like gods, soon shunned them like devils. But since everything that could flee, Las Casas reports, -hid in the mountains and clambered up the steepest rocks to escape these cruel, unfeeling people, who were like beasts of prey, these stranglers, these mortal enemies of the human race, so directed their fierce hunting dogs that they tore to pieces every Indian they caught sight of in less time than it takes to say 'Our Father'; those of a larger size caught the Indians like wild pigs and kicked them."

According to Las Casas, Christians killed more than three million people in Haiti between i4 q¢ l2nd i 5o8, through war, slavery, suicide epidemics and forced labor in the mines. Who will How could he believe this in the future, he asks himself, when he, the augerizee, could hardly believe it himself? Today's researchers estimate Haiti's population at the time of the landing of the 5panians iyqa at two to four million, occasionally even at perhaps eight million. i 5 io but Haiti still had d6ooo inhabitants i y ry still iooo. And since then

year, Negro slaves were systematically dragged there, whose import drove from Africa had already been allowed I yoi.

In the zo. For a time in the 20th century under the protectorate of the United States of America, indeed still subject to their pressure in the zi. Haiti is now once again one of the poorest countries in the world a n d , until the spring of aooq as I write this, is bloodily ruled by Aristide, a Catholic priest."

But when John Paul II (Wojtyla) visited Haiti, he did not say a word about the enormous blood sacrifice of the people who had once been invaded there. The Holy Father saw the beginning of the new era through Spain and its priests, the Conquista espiritual,
"so many beautiful things", saw "the time of salvation", "the good work begun" through God himself, saw "the fruits of evangelization" ripen here, "the first international law" initiated,
defended "the dignity of the natives" and -their inviolable rights. In short, for Karol Wojtyla, the Church on this island was the first authority to stand up for justice and the rights of the people ... - and today we can only look at this work with admiration and gratitude," said the Pope. The Spanish Church sent at least i 3 ooo missionaries to AmeriLs between i§ 3 nnd z8zz."

However, if Columbus' work was already remarkably brutal, it was surpassed by the next phase of the Conquista, the conquest of the Aztec empire in Mexico, an unparalleled "mission spring".

HERNAx CORTÜS, MiGSIONAR U N D **HUMAN BEASTS**

The Spanish conquisfador from the lower nobility of the Hidalgos arrived in Haiti at the age of nineteen after soon abandoning his Latin and law studies and took part in the conquest of Cuba, the largest island in the Caribbean Sea, of whose indigenous inhabitants only a few were still alive a generation later. Cortés became

Secretary and treasurer to Governor Diego de Veĺásquez and came to wealth through forced Indian laboreq through the atis exploitation of local gold deposits nod a judgeship. When Diego de Velásquez sent him to the Mexican coast with a troop, his armor made him suspicious. He was deposed, left Cuba in February i 5 iq fiuchtartig, sought contact with the Maya on his behalf i Jzd by Pedro de Alvarado) and decided to conquer the Aztec Empire (i 5 I I5**)- contrary to orders and after eliminating a punitive expedition sent against him, which was greatly outnumbered. • •
Ships, first mud too, then zooo Spaniards. *3 guns, 14
Armed and i 6 particularly intimidating horses, he landed on Good Friday near today's Veracruz, the first Spartan city in Mexico, and, not least thanks to a smallpox epidemic i you, subjugated a people numbering between one and three million, whose unrestricted ruler Montezuma II, blinded by oracles, myths, fears of doom and the end of time, r e c e i v e d the criminal peacefully, indeed as the descendant of a deity.^

Hemán Cortés, one of the great butchers in the history of mankind, was not accidentally praised by Hitler as a colonizer and admired by more than a few historians, including William Prescott, the actual founder of North American historiography. Cortés is regarded as an outstanding personality and his destruction of Mexico is counted among the "great deeds of colonial history" {Winzer). Even the lexicon of the Middle Ages praises him for his statesmanlike deeds; the Catholic Herder lexicon praises him all the more as bold and noble, highly educated and dedicated to the spread of Christianity.

Catholic through and through, a devotee of Mary, Cortés heard mass every day and prayed the breviary every morning. He always had field priests with him to preach, and he, "servant and multiplier of the power of Christ" (Cortés on Cortês), also preached himself, calling the "spread of the Catholic faith" his main task and having the children of the Indian elite he had massacred re-educated as Christian missionaries. And while

he, the great statesman, the diplomat, dealt with hostile tribes in a backhandedly friendly manner, while sometimes dealing with some, sometimes with others in a selectively polite, winningly amiable manner, he incited people against people, Indians against Indians { -psy- chological warfare").

Cortés comprehensively ruined a sophisticated civilization and at the same time enriched Mexico with western culture, with firearms, bloodhounds, images of martyrs and crucifixes. He erected the crucifix everywhere. A cross also adorned his standard. And so, with the cross, with continued Holy Masses, with Our Lady and all the saints, especially with the battle cry:

-Here Saint Jacob!- the hordes of noble knights murdered everything that g o t in their way, stabbed, strangled, drowned them with almost unprecedented ruthlessness, burned kings, chiefs, witches, burned the entire ancient Mexican ruling class, burned temples by the hundreds to the ground, destroyed tens of thousands o f statues of gods and works of art so that no trace of them remained, they desecrated tombs to demonstrate the power of their gods, destroyed countless objects of a r t , idols, fascinating masks, pottery and wood carvings, a civilization, a high, flourishing culture, the nature, beauty and richness of which the invaders had never imagined, creations whose remains i y zo in Brussels at the court of Charles V. even enchanted a Dürer, the genius had seen nothing in all my life that c o u l d so delight my heart ... "*.

But on the other side of the great sea, the celebrated c o l o n i z e r - edcl- and "highly educated", spectacularly made tabula rasa, put an end to the people, their wonderful cities, not least to their "idolatry" including "idolaters", although the golden bandit of course did not come with warlike intentions, but as a

-An "ambassador of peace" who, moreover, as he wrote to his emperor in a very evangelical way, did not want to "return evil for evil".

This was evident in the "pacification" of his enemies, where Gortés could strike with ice-cold brutality, sparing neither women nor children. It was exemplified by the massacre of Cho- tula, also known as St. Bartholomew's Night in overseas history. Attack

He attacked them himself, mainly to prevent an attack by the inhabitants. First they lured out their most important dignitaries along with their followers and then invaded Cholula together with their allies. They robbed it, destroyed the sanctuaries5 , burnt down entire districts and slaughtered more than three thousand people in just a few hours. - Through cunning treachery, the Franciscan monk &rnardino de Sahagiin conveyed the Indian lherlief, -the warriors were without weapons. Without swords and without shields they stood before the Spaniards."^

The cruelty of Cortés is also shown by the end of Tenochtitlan, the metropolis of the Aztec empire, which he and his followers had never ceased to marvel at, which they declared to be the most beautiful city in the world, perhaps the largest at the time, which also welcomed them, the foreigners, in a friendly manner, which for a short time, one remembers Columbus, took them for gods. Tenochtitlän, the capital, gracefully situated on a large lake, with magnificent palaces, towers, courtyards, extensive well-proportioned squares, markets, shady promenades, b r i d g e s and waterways, magnificent zoological and botanical gardens, Cortés' warriors and their combatants captured this wonder of the world at the end of May i yxi, starved it out in an eighty-day siege, conquered it, in the course of which an estimated two hundred thousand Aztecs perished, plundered it - - like hungry pigs they were greedy for gold - - and built Spanish Mexico on the ruins. But even in the provinces there was still a wealth of popular cities with never-before-seen sights, "so many and so wonderful", as Cortés put it, "that it seems almost unbelievable".

But culture, places of worship, art, even the largest, most beautiful temples, they respect as little as any foreign human life. They respected and esteemed them far less," Las Casas complains, -- and I speak the truth, for I have seen it all this time -- not merely as their cattle -- God forbid they should have treated them more cruelly than their cattle! -but they regarded them no higher, indeed far lower than the dung in the streets.""

They resorted, they wrote, to the tortures of classical antiquity, now adapted to the conditions of the wilderness and, one might add, to the stimulating inspirations of their holy faith. T h e y tore prisoners apart between two canoes or two horses, tied them to gallows "for the glorification of the Redeemer", cut off their hands, noses, lips and breasts by the hundred - with the help of God, the Holy Virgin and the Apostle Santiago. They pułverized the savages - even in front of cannon muzzles. And occasionally the pious commander reported his successes, "funny little pieces", through the "cartas de reĺación" (sometimes compared to Caesar's Bellum Gallicum), detailing Charles V, the mighty one, in whose empire the sun was just setting - without the two gentlemen telling each other, of course, like Lichtenberg, that it i s not this that counts, but what the sun gets to see during its course in these states.

And Cortés, whose -brilliant performances as a trup-

It is not only the encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages that still raves today about the "brilliant deeds of arms" of the "leader of the Middle Ages", and it is not only the Zurich historian Urs Bitterli who is still r 9qq impressed by his "brilliant deeds of arms", the highly praised militia and butcher offered the sun and criminal history all sorts of things: - countless villages and towns on fire and ashes, uncounted people ridden down, burnt, drowned. At one point he reports his monster crimes to the French Catholic authorities, who pass them off as - bellum iustum-,

-more than too man - canceled, once - more than 5oo-,

Once, at the call of "St. Jacob", a river turns red from the blood of the slain, once "fire is thrown into more than

3 o houses -, another time - over 8oo Temixtitans are captured and taken prisoner", within two hours

-3 ooo citizens are killed", one day "more than sooo men, women and children are killed". One day they kill or capture -r zooo Temixti- tans, another day "over

All this - "cheerful", as Corrés calls it, "funny" and of course with the notoriously good conscience of the devout Catholic, murdered with the Crucified, with the Madonna, with "Hie 5ankt

Jacob!" etc. etc. For, as Cortés preached, "we are Christians and believe in only one true God, Jesus Christ, who suffered for us ... -We believe in him alone, and therefore we worship him alone -In the place of your idols I will now place our glorious and holy Lady, the mother of Jesus Christ, who is the Son of God -*-

Always: With God, through two millennia over corpses, mountains of corpses, and: With God.

An Aztec text describes the action of the Spanish occupation**,** this time during **a** festival of a thousand Indians. Just at its climax, the heavily armed knights of Christ stormed among the unsuspecting dancers and singers, first seized a drummer, a man "who was drumming, and cut off his arms. Then they cut off his head and he rolled far across the floor. Then they attacked the dancers, stabbed them, played them, beat them to death with their sisters. Some pierced them from behind and fell to the ground with their guts hanging out. Others decapitated them; first they split their heads open and then cut them into small pieces. Others hit them on the shoulders, their backs opened up in gaping wounds. **Some** had their arms torn from their bodies. Some they stabbed in the thighs and calves. Others had their stomachs slit open and their intestines spilled out onto the ground. Some tried in vain to run away, but their intestines dragged in front of them and they became entangled in them with their own fangs. No matter how they tried to save themselves, they could not escape. Some tried to force their way out, but the Spaniards killed them at the gates. Others climbed up the walls, but the Spaniards played them... The blood of the chiefs flowed like water and collected in puddles. The puddles flowed together and turned the entire temple courtyard into a large slippery surface. The stench of blood and guts filled the hatch, and the Spaniards ran into the private houses and killed everyone who was still hiding there. -*-

This a massacre by the butchers of that man who was known as e Jener Moses- of the Mexican Indians, he had b e e n praised for his

-With the conquest of Mexico, he compensated the Church for the loss of half of Europe to Protestantism" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

Within less than a century, there was a catastrophic loss of population, the population of Central Mexico fell from almost zy milĺion to under two million! But instead there were more and more monks, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and later, i y7 z, Jesuits, then Carmelites

and Merœdariez Um i too had Mexicp, New Spain, around 4 monasteries. The country was Catholic, -the stage of direct missionary work" - -the missionary spring- - - was completed" {Handbook of Church History).

And a lame Spanish colonial servitude followed until Mexico's declaration of independence in the 8th century.

Like Columbus, Cortés was also accused, but in vain. Instead, he rose to become a marquis (marquis) in Ş pain, the Adelantado {Statthalter) de la Mar del Sur-. Back in Mexico in the 1930s, he organized trips to California, the Moluccas and the Philippines. i yą i participated in

He took part in the failed military campaign of Charles V to Algiers (VII44). where a hurricane devoured around i 5o imperial ships and their crews. Since then, Cortés remained in Spain and died in 1547 in Casńlleja de la Cuesta near Seville, leaving behind eleven offspring, both legitimate and illegitimate, as a passionate devotee of the Virgin Mary is always entitled to do.

Let us just mention that in South America, which has been divided into the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru (now Bolivia) since i 5 35 and i 5q z, the Spaniards themselves have repeatedly been involved in military conflicts.

broke out. Dad alone x5 -4 V*er rival conquistadors for Honduras, where two of the rulers of the

Cortés treacherously killed a third, Cristóbal de Olid. (And as late as the zo. In the 19th century, the USA visited Honduras with a series of military interventions}. There were also bloody clashes between high-ranking Spanish officials in Mexico City. And later in Peru, the "land of gold", there were outright civil wars.

PIZARRO AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE INCA EMPIRE

From Mexico, first Central America and then southern North America were conquered.

i 53 i Francisco Pizarro, a soldier's son, related to Cortés on his mother's side and who, like Cortés, had made his fortune in the New World at an early age, conquered the empire. It stretched along the west coast of South America from the north of present-day Ecuador via Peru and Bolivia to central Chile. It was one of the largest and richest countries, although already weakened by internal rivalries, due to a bitter fratricidal war between the two sons of the last ruler Huayna Capac, who had succumbed to an epidemic. The eldest son Htiascar, the designated successor, was murdered in captivity by the warriors of his brother Atahualpa, who soon met the same fate. Pizarro had Atahualpa, whom he had promised to treat as a "friend and brother", lured into an ambush, captured and, despite paying a ransom of zq tons of gold and silver, executed despite his baptism. Beforehand, Atahualpa asked the "Goberriador" - his last words - to take care of his young children, then the Spaniards prayed for his salvation, spared him a Christian death at the stake and, like a repentant "heretic", had him first strangled and then burned.

Even the governor of Panama, Gaspar de Espinosa, found this procedure suspicious and regretted in a letter to Charles V that such a guilty verdict was passed and that a man was killed who had done so much good and given away such rich treasures or pointed them out to us without the slightest harm having befallen a Spaniard or any other person to this day.

Of course, the Spaniards' greed for gold also played a special role here. And in order to squeeze as much as possible out of their victims, they had even invented a special torture, an "ingenious European technique" (Stannard). They dug out the Indian leaders

up to the center of the body and whipped it. If there were no more treasure hiding places because they had no more treasures, they heaped earth on top of them again and whipped them again and so on: new earth, new whipping, new earth, buried up to the shoulders, whipped, buried up to the mouth ...

Incidentally, Pizarro, who could not read or write his own name but was ennobled by the emperor, was even more cruel than Cortés, and his hordes treated the country's landowners no differently than the invaders in the Caribbean, in Mexico. Volumes could be filled with the atrocities committed by these Christians, with reports that originated from them. They tortured, hanged, drowned, quartered, decapitated, they incited the Indians with 81hundreds, threw them in front of them as food or put them in the silver mines, which looked like the pit of hell.

The conquest of the huge Inca empire was also determined by the same motives, the same strategies, the same -overpressure-. These too

"Voyages", "voyages of discovery", "explorations" were basically just bandit tours, raids, often of the crudest kind, power-political enterprises, serving above all to enrich themselves and to expand violence at any price. This land grab also consisted of incessant raids, massacres, battles, sometimes formal field battles on the high plateaus of the Andes, bloodbaths with artillery and cavalry attacks, in which thousands of Indians died, as in the massacre of Cajamarca, which the Dominican Vicente de Valverde commanded with a crucifix in his hand: "Come out, Christians! Confront these hostile hounds who reject divine things!

In fact, it was less about divine things and more about human, aßzuman, inhuman things, about horny profits and nothing else. "Their only concern," confessed one priest, the young Christóbal de Jvtolina*, "was to collect gold and silver to get rich ..." That is why they plundered tenipels, opfeigab¢n, ancestral tombs, why they tore the gold and silver coverings from walls and statues, and even tore the golden masks from the frozen faces of embalmed people

Hostages were taken, their heads were cut off, they were thrown down the trunks.

mesgenossen to. They tortured, burned alive, fed dogs with human egg. Mari undertook slave hunts. Natives were forced to work like cattle. Sometimes all the women and children of a treasure-less place were rounded up and stabbed. The historian Oviedo quotes a chieftain: "Then you Christians came and turned us from free men into slaves, from masters into servants, instead of treating us well and justly, you made us slaves.

You have taken our wives and daughters as concubines. To deprive us of our property, you have burned us, hounded us with hounds, and ravished us with wicked words.

And as in the subjugation of Central America, the Christians rivaled each other here too, fighting the rebels in their own ranks, the leaders striving to eliminate each other through tactics or force, with each side also letting their helpers bleed.

A war that lasted more than a decade broke out between Pizarri and Almagrists, between the Bizarro clan, who sought to heap all power onto the family circle, and the conquistador Diego de Almagro {the iilteren). The latter was defeated in 538 by an army under Hernando Pizarro, one of Francisco's half-brothers, captured and, despite his advanced age, strangled with the garrote. Three years later, Francisco Pizarro himself succumbed to an assassination attempt in his residence city of Lima. And when the eponymous son of the titled Diego de Almagro dismissed him as Lord of Peru, an emperor's envoy, Crístõbal Vaca de Castro, e l i m i n a t e d him. His successor, however, the first vice-king Blasco Núíiez de Vela, is defeated in open battle by Francisco Pizarro's youngest brother-in-law, Gonzalo Pizarro, until he himself is defeated and liquidated by a legate of Charles V. Christians among themselves. Of course, the pious Spaniards still found time to assassinate the very young son of the deceased lnca ruler Huayna Capac, the brave Manco Inca, not to mention countless other outrages.

As in Mexico, the human losses of the Indians in Central and South America were immense. For wherever the Christians explored, discovered and conquered, as one of them himself, Pedro de Cléza de León, says, "it seemed as if a fire had destroyed everything.

zehrr" . Between x y3o and i y7 o, the indigenous population is assumed to have declined from around y to around q million. But, as we know, the history of salvation continued thereafter. And, writes the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche t gg4 , "in the interior of Amazonia the massacres of the indigenous population continue to the present day".

It is also remarkable, as the Handbook of Church History admits, that Indians, lViestizos and mulattos could not become clergymen practically until the*7- century. But just as slaves were denied the priesthood for centuries in modern times as if, Leo I, "the Great", Pope and Doctor of the Church, "as if a shabby slave (servilis vilitas) were worthy of such an honor".

Of course, many European states could not stand the domination of the Iberians on the seas and in the overseas territories. Now they too wanted a share in the -mare clausum-, they wanted - the new theory of international law - a "mare liberum-, a share in the spoils, the -land grab- - the bloodthirsty act already familiar to us from the Old Testament, which, despite all the differences, in ancient Israel as in the New America amounted to the ongoing extermination of the previous inhabitants (cf. 173 .). And at the same time, the Europeans themselves fought each other, attacking the Protestants in t)bersee, the egoism of the Dutch broke Bahri, the hunger for power of the French and, with particular vigor and success, the domination of the British. In the process, the Indians were used as auxiliary tribes in struggles that arose from the religious fanaticism of the Jesuits on the one hand and the Puritan clergy and their followers on the other (Friederici).

HOW NONOAMERICA WAS CHRISTIAN OR:
-To xlcL Al'd D SCALP ALL, BIG A1'4D

It began with individual actions, with a steadily increasing small-scale war in the course of the i6th century. It culminated in the invasion attempt by the Spanish fleet. It set out to conquer England in i88, supported by a million ducats from the Pope to Philip II, and sank in the English Channel (iöo ships, worth zoo million ducats) through a long-range artillery battle {instead of the usual close-range boarding battle) under Admiral John Hawkins, the founder of British naval power. He was ennobled for this, as he had also rendered other services to Great Britain, for example by opening the English slave trade from West Africa to the West Indies (i yS8), of course with -God's help- and a ship with the beautiful name -Jesus". (In the eighteenth century, the Americans bought a nuclear submarine

• Corpus Christi". Because trust in God still makes itself felt.
paid)-'

After England had won the "freedom of the seas", at least for itself, it a d v a n c e d everywhere with large trading companies, the Muscovite, Levantine, East India and African companies, and finally in Canada with the Hudsonbai Company. It created bases for itself, took Bermuda away from the Spanish i 6i z, i 3*7 Barbados, the easternmost island of the Lesser Antilles, from which the Catholics had cem *"ppr* the Indians as SkJars. The British therefore soon imported 8oooo blacks from West Africa to cultivate their sugar cane plantations. (EfSt IQ66 Barbados became independent.) Conditions developed similarly in Jamaica, where the Spanish largely exterminated the Indians through forced labor and epidemics, and the British reintroduced West African slaves to run their sugar cane fields after conquering the island i 6 y 5, making Jamaica the largest slave market in the Caribbean. (It gained complete independence in St IQ6x.)-°

Great Britain created bases in India, indeed worldwide, iiis-

colonies, settlement colonies on the east coast of North America. The first corresponding attempts by the English navigator Walter Raleigh in 157s us i58¢ were not very successful, but at least he founded Virginia, the first of those i3 colonies which then became the nucleus of -God's own country-, the USA. James I, however; the Protestant son of Mary Stuart, who took Raleigh z 6i 6 out of the Tower {where he was imprisoned for thirteen years, among other things.

-The History of the World"), had him executed i 6i 8. Gradually, however, the Virginia Company, established by the London government and specifically intended to transport European settlers to America, brought ever new flocks of "colonists" over. I Ö5 I They took possession of Connecticut, i 636 Rhode Island, x63 New Hampshire, i64 Maine.

Many came of their own accord, that is, disgusted out of England, driven away from the rest of Europe by its housing misery, its methods of torture, slavery and cupping, its feudalism, its military service. But even as they sought to escape the misery, the political instability, the social quarrels, the sectarian strife, they exposed themselves to new misery, a risky transfer over *durihuuseod* kilometers with countless shipwrecks.

On the other side of the sea, of course, epidemics and hunger struck and many, especially at first, remained poor, dependent and had to pay for the journey as indentured servants, usually with four to seven years of servitude. It was through Christians that Western serfdom came to North America, and Christians were the first slaves of C h r i s t i a n s there. Then redskins took their place, including missionaries, and then blacks, unparalleled scams. At times, Great Britain even had a monopoly on the export of black slaves to the Spanish colonies and shipped 1.I $ million of them to the New World between i 68o and i y86 alone.'-.

In contrast to Spain, Portugal and France, w h e r e the state initiated or at least favored the war, in England it was initially the result of private initiative. Business-minded merchants promised the blue sky, and many a captain

open kidnapping. Eventually, the state also recognized its advantage overseas and sought to deport all sorts of people who were in need of help, has-beens, have-nots, Catholics and criminals. The latter in particular were to be used by the judiciary to fill the dungeons of the New World. But they were also suitable as forced laborers. Thus

›7 8 Betweenand ryyy alone, yoooo convicts were sent to the tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland. And soon the absolutist staar was joined by the absolutist ecclesia, calling on them to make the native land a "holy land", "the boundaries of the kingdom, yes, the boundaries of heaven {to) enlarge ted."

As the Anglican Church, the state church, continued the persecution practice of the Papists, many also fled for religious reasons. All the "dissenters" - Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Deists, Quakers - expected political and religious freedom in the New Continent and hoped for something like a new Canaan, the Promised Land. Above all, many Puritans, Calvinists of the strictest kind, were inspired by state absolutism, by Queen Elizabeth I and the Stuarts **James I** and Charles. I {beheaded at the instigation of Cromwell i ö9q) and fled to America, including the group of "Pilgrims" who later became famous.

With them, who now wanted to create a "New Jerusalem", the USA let its prehistory begin, the founding of the English colonies, although Sir Walter Raleigh had already laid the groundwork for this in Virginia and although there x6oy, still half a generation before the Pilgrim Fathers, a certain Capt.]ohn Smith had arrived on behalf of a trading company and founded Jamestown, the oldest permanent British settlement in America, where twelve years later slavery would begin on the soil of the future United States.-°

But this development then seemed all too profane, far too earthly, temporal, an actionism of small traders, speculators, soldiers of fortune, one of whom had even been beheaded in the Tower. No, this could not open their story. Something else was needed, a serious prelude, something higher than profit, the

was and remained the highest thing for them. They needed the kind of aura that surrounded the Pilgrim Fathers, they needed the aura of the sublime, the sacred, the numinous, and did the Pilgrims not simply, in true Christian humility, call themselves "saints"?

So let the history of Nen- England, -the first permanent English settlement in America-, begin not in Virginia, not with the beheaded man, not with Captain Smith, nor with other pioneers, pacesetters of the all-too-sordid economic, but with those sectarians from Plymouth, who, though separated from the Anglican state church, were nonconformists, separatists, Calvinists, -heretics-, but nevertheless exalted, blessed by God, indeed possessed by the faith of election, by messianic visions, zealous bigotry; They came from a world so moral that they later, for example, arranged a library separately for male and female authors, which could even display dog genitals or the feet of a piano because they resembled ladies' legs.

Almost the entire Pilgrims cult seems like a parallel action to the Christian belief in miracles and relics. Almost everything is exaggerated, untrue, starting with the famous rock of New Plymouth, where the "Mayf1ower", the Pilgrim Father ship known as Columbus' "Santa Maria", is said to have sunk in November i6zo; a much admired cult object, almost a national monument, although the stone has been broken off, moved, buried and sawn up several times; quite apart from the fact that the rock was first mentioned for the first time i 36 years later, that the
-Pilgrims- only towards the middle of the iq. Century so called.

The Puritans, who in the first half of the*7- secular period particularly invaded the north-east of what would later become the USA, the New England states of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts,
Rhode Island and Connecticut, especially in the cigent mother state of New England, in Massachusens, established a -Bible-Common-wealth-, a theocracy of the purest water, garnished with beautiful 5 sayings, above all, of course, biblical ones.

At the same time, they had no inhibitions about legally classifying the territory they were fouling as a vacuum.

namely as a country that the pre-population inhabited not by virtue of "civil law", but only by virtue of "natural law" and thus illegally! They had no scruples, in the Basic Law

{The first of these was to officially grant Massachusetts settlers the right to keep slaves, nor did they have any qualms about depriving a trading company of nine-tenths of its capital, nor about equipping their "Castle Zion" with cannons when they founded the town of New Plymouth, or later, in the century of Enlightenment, paying first i z and then roo pounds for each Indian scalp. And as zealot sectarians, they brought prudery to its most beautiful bloom. Gambling, dancing and drinking were frowned upon, strictly forbidden on public holidays, and unmarried people who joined together were branded with red-hot iron or whipped.4-

Hypocrisy flourished, and the longer the more, especially in the higher ranks. In the i 8th century In the eighth century, Governor Moses Norton constantly i n c u l c a t e d his men with virtue, morality and mortification, and also sought to strictly prevent their intercourse with Indian women, but kept half a dozen of the most beautiful girls himself and, according to Sa- muel Hearne, the classic of American ethnology, who served under him, always had a box of poison with him so that he could administer a dose to those who refused him their wives and daughters; indeed, he himself poisoned two of his wives in the opinion that they had "more inclination towards other, younger men".--

And of course, all the intolerance of Christian Europe and not least England, where a ten-year civil war raged towards the middle of the i7th century, came with them to the New World. century, where a ten-year civil war raged, came with it to the New World. Yes, it was precisely the church that elevated the strictest intolerance to a principle (Reinhard). The Puritans were as zealous and vindictive as Rome or the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who, as one of the king's closest advisors, persecuted dissenters with increasing ferocity, also sided with Charles I in the "Wars of the Bishops" i 63g/i 6 o, but was beheaded *i 6¢5*, as was the king himself four years later.

The Puritans of New England condemned even the most absurd utterances and condemned every kind of heresy, especially since

the liberal, tolerant

The Quakers who refused to serve in the army were beaten with a sharp knife, occasionally turning their flesh "into jelly", their men were threatened with having their ears cut off, their women had their tongues pierced with red-hot metal and their children were sometimes sold as slaves. And sometimes Quakers, both male and female, were even hanged. Since i6§ I, atheism was punishable by death. People were hardly free from any papal abominations, nor from anti-Semitism, and certainly not from the delusions of hell devils and witches, which they tried to spread as much as possible.

The first witches were h a n g e d in Connecticut, in Hartford, in Windsor, in the witch trials of Salem Village, near Cape Ann, tq men and women were brought to the gallows. Old women and small children were also liquidated in this way or - for safety's sake - placed i n t h e dungeon on the gallows, all devil's brides, most of them in New England. There was even a small field battle in i655, shouting "Holy Mary - there - God is our strength". In short, everything like in the pious West.

Of course, these Christians were particularly brutal towards the Indians, without whom they would have perished at the beginning, devastatingly weakened by disease and hunger.

The Indians were much more socially minded, much more reliable and helpful than the invaders, they were unaware of the social differences of the Christians. They rescued the invaders from distress at sea by delivering food. -The Indians lived among us like sheep. They did everything humanly possible for us and gave us food when we ran out of provisions ... - Many witnesses describe the natives quite favorably, repeatedly praising their peacefulness, such as John Lawson, who traveled the New World for eight years until he, of all people, died at the stake. -They never quarrel among themselves," Lawson writes in -A New Voyage to Carolina, "unless they have been drinking, and you can never hear them quarrel. They say the Europeans are always spiteful and discontented, and they wonder that they did not leave a world in which they felt so uncomfortable. "*

The methods used by the Christians in their actions ranged from be- from the robbery to the complete robbery.

The Dutch were shamefully duped, intoxicated, bought land for trinkets, tinsel, a mere beggar and enriched themselves enormously. When the Dutchman Willem Krieft, director of Manhattan {Neu-Amsterdam) - i6aS acquired by the first governor, the clergyman Peter Minuit, for a few woollen blankets and all sorts of bric-a-brac worth 6o guilders (z¢ dollars) - when Krieft was shipwrecked on his voyage home, already off the cliffs of Wa- les, he went to sea with an Have a value of4 oo ooo guilders under.

Even the honorable William Penn (-44"*7), philanthropist and Quaker, liberal and tolerant, fighter for freedom of conscience, for the
As the son of a rich admiral, he understood how to handle money. The propagandist of a -holy experiment- sold the colony of Pennsylvania {"Woods"}, which had been built by the English crown on the Delaware for i 6 ooo pounds sterling and was then named after him.
of the Penn -) t7 i z back to this crown for z8o ooo pounds sterling. And the initially extremely egalitarian constitution was revised in the sirtn of an oligarchic plutocracy.

What they did not buy, swindled, they simply stole - and it was by far the most - legalized, so to speak, by some act of annexation, carte blanche, the privilege of a lord of the Old World, a royal charter' - they were -the most merciless people on earth-, according to tfS historian Henry *Steele Gommagcr*; -they took what was to be taken-, according to US historian Joe Frantz; they practiced -a single rape according to the principle: AllcS is permitted", according to US historian David Brian Davis; in short, the land grab became "a catastrophe on a world scale", according to US historian Donald Worster.

Not every American historian, to be sure, sees it that way today, and certainly not the majority of the American people, for how could one be the descendant of %ubers and murderers! And now even the former heroes, the "pioneers", the settlers, the idealized, possessive rabble, the GotteSkfnder. For them

all lawful, their seizure of land was as blessed by heaven as that of the Isrealites in the Bible. Or those in the zo. Century.

All in all, after a relatively quiet early phase, in which they were simply still too weak to cope with the inhabitants, more and more people and material were gradually brought in, they **became** more demanding, more insolent, more ruthless, the occupiers used naked force more and more frequently and finally quite continuously - in other words, they pacified the "savages", the "wild beasts", the "red devils", they civilized and Christianized them. They put on a moral cloak, acted in good faith, with the best conscience, attributed everything to God's wonderful providence and, as his people, claimed the same rights as Abraham, who settled his own in the midst of the Sodomites. They referred to David's war in the Bible, as it was written that the children should perish with their parents. Yes, they probably all had (like those Massachusetts Christians at the massacre of five hundred or six hundred Indians) - the enlightenment of the living word of God" for our actions.

And thus enlightened and proclaiming the gospel, they continued to memelize. - As a matter of principle and according to plan, they shot down every Indian of both sexes and all ages who came before their guns with bullets or buckshot, just like so many goats and roe deer" (Friederici). The rightful owners of the land were systematically exterminated, and, as the former Zurich theologian Fritz Blanke emphasizes, "under religious auspices". Yes, it was precisely clergymen, leading clergymen {who ultimately fought each other themselves} like Cotton Mather, like William Hubbard, who fought against the

• barbaric, unbelieving Indians-, the -monsters without faith", these "filth and soil-set-, the -caste of humanity- rushed and the bloodthirst of the British a)s the terror of God: "The terror of God was iipon them round about" (Ma- ther).

It was the "Pilgrim Fathers -, those "saints" who x i7 *< -Pe- quot war - with other butchers from Massachusetts and Con- necticut the feasting in their wigwams on a summer night.

Indians, stabbed them by the hundreds, along with their women and children, and burned the dead like dying men in their huts; they raved about how the Indians stewed in the fire, how rivers of blood finally extinguished the flames - and how God "so marvelously stood by them". "It was his LORD's Doings, and it is marvelous in our Eyes!" And Dr. Cotton Mather reports with a proudly swollen priest's breast, rhat no less than 6oo Pequot souls were brought down to hell that day.-**

Not the dirtiest tricks were spurned, in every conceivable way the gradually more and more helpless redskins were robbed, cheated, cheated out of their skins, cheated out of inferior goods, cheated out of their money, the land of future big cities was grabbed for a pittance, once by Peter Jefferson, the president's father, zSz hectares of land for a bowl of punch!

The victims of the Christians were bribed, robbed, even their graves were regularly plundered, they were attacked in their sleep, strangled, assassinated in captivity, persuaded to disarm during peace talks and liquidated. They were tortured and quartered, emasculated, skulls were split open, heads were chopped off and put on display. They raped women, even the youngest, mutilated their genitals and even carried them around as top hats, scalping children **for amusement.** Although scalping was of Indian origin, it was adopted and promoted by the whites (lReinhard).

Forests and hunting grounds were ruined, villages and harvests were destroyed. The wretched were left to die of hunger and cold, to the devastating effects of alcohol, and whole tribes perished in this way, up to seven of the Delaware. T h e y did not look to eliminate them through deadly epidemics, through bladder and tuberculosis. Bacterial wars were waged against them, they were murdered by charitable donations, by poc£en-contaminated *clothes* through bedspreads - -Our people took them-, the Tuscarora report, "and they died, died and died ... -

In short, they brought civilization, the Good News, to the red subhumans and thanked God because his hand had so

because he thus -created space for his people", because he spared him the trouble of -destroying the Indians by sword and fire-, which, however, happened often enough. They also waged active wars against sic, against the Tuscarora, the Seneca, but also incited the Occaneechees against the Susquehanocks, the Iroquois against the Hurons, the Cherokees against the Yamasee . ... and went with one tribe against the other - for wild slave hunts-
{BitrerÍi). It was, according to Howard Zinn, a -total war-.*-

Of course, the Christian brotherhoods themselves were soon at war.

After i63o, the area of the Delaware River estuary occupied by the Swedish immigrants was conquered by the Dutch and then became British property. i S64 the Duke, who later took over the Delaware River.
re King James II, the Dutch in the northeast of today's USA
The British took away their colony of New Netherland, and also took New Amsterdam, naming it New Jersey and New York. In the south, the British sought to push back the Spanish, in the west the growing French influence east of the Mississippi. Decades of conflicts on the borders of both powers followed, raids, invasions, displacements, devastation, incitement of indigenous peoples. France was ultimately the main rival in the battle for North America, not to mention the fact that the French were again divided between Catholics and Huguenots. SchOR IÿI3t was at t h e Peace of Utrecht, which ended the twelve-year War of the Spanish Succession, that France lost Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the territory on Hudson Bay to England. And after this had already happened i öqo and• 7 I the already repeatedly occupied Qućbec
{ r6o8 founded by the French) had wanted to mature,
his war ultimately led to the capture of the city of*779 *-m, and in the nextJ hr also to the capture of Montreal, the starting point of French power politics in North America, and thus to the end of French colonial rule there.

Y*3 s-waHn Great Britain 'in the Peace of Paris the whole of Cana- where Catholicism has been the only permitted
It won the economically prosperous Louisiana east of the Mississippi and Horida from Spain. New

France was now English. And•77 the•3 North American colonies, which in future called themselves states, also rebelled against their own mother country. They refused to submit
The British were under an obligation to the British Crown, rejected any political union outright - and were now secretly supported by France.

But against the Indians they committed a 3 yo-year-long genocide, raging against the -devilish men, as it was said, -who serve no one but the devil-, against the -wild beasts, as they were called.
"Indian friend" Jefferson, the third president of the USA. However, if the invaded, the ever more pushed back, ever more weakened, defended themselves, and they defended themselves in doubt, then one cried "rebellion, -massacre", spoke of unholy atrocities, while one oneself only waged -defensive wars- {as one still does today!), but exterminated tribe by tribe, always according to the motto: -To kill and scalp all, big and little.- Scalp raids are becoming more and more popular. Heads are being murdered in heaps - to the delight of the Puritan authorities and the leading clergy - -headhunters - as the German Americanist Georg Friederici calls Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans, Even in the middle of the century of Enlightenment - and beyond - the entire Christian frontier population, including the frontier troops, their officers and chaplains, are scalping. Yes, scalps still adorn the church of Santa je as an offering.

Not even the Catholic Spanish and Portuguese, who often killed millions upon millions of Indians in South America in a short space of time, renounced the natives as almost completely as the Protestant British, who were not by chance particularly restrained because they were extremely devious. And all in the name of God, all in the name of religion, love of neighbour and enemy, all in defence of civilization and humanity. -Take sharp revenge-, one incites, -do to them what they wanted to do {! J-. Slogans such as: -The bones of the Indians must fertilize the soil before the white man's plough can open it." Or:
-Only a dead Indian is a good Indian.

Nation after nation perished. Just a few decades after

After the arrival of the Christians, entire tribes were no longer alive - many even lost their names. Even in areas where there were no wars, the Indians almost died out within a century. When the English landed on Martha's Vineyard, for example, there were perhaps 3ooo Wampanoags alive. *76q only 3 i 3. Similarly, there were about izoo to i 5oo Indians on Block Island in z66a, u*77s only y i.'°

We are way ahead of the game. Let's go back to the i6th century.
century

and to Europe, back to the emperor in whose empire the sun never set.

z. CHAPTER

THE REFORMATION TAKES HOLD OF SWITZERLAND ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

The mighty hope for a renaissance of Christ and the Gospel has also awakened, as many good and learned men have begun to row and sail, as they **say,** towards the goal of bringing the seed to ripe fruit ... I carry out the old in order, as they say, to drive those who are already **in the course** and are hurriedly pursuing the goal of becoming as many sons as possible for Christ, who should then one day fight bravely for him; the longer, the more they are, the more cruel the persecution, the more they are.

I will tell you this openly: I believe that just as the church comes to life through blood, so it can also be renewed through blood alone, not otherwise. Therefore, always teach Christ to your own ...-

Zwingli wrote to his friend Oswsld Myconius (actually Geisshüeler), teacher and founder of the school in Lucerne, in a letter dated July z§. zyzo'

-Kslvin's conviction of the absolute commitment to every word of Scripture became of the greatest importance because it led him to a complete equalization of the Old and New **Testaments. Whatever** God has ever born in his word or set up as exemplary must remain so forever. Indeed, the Old Testament takes on a special 9'/erc because it provides more clues for the external order of the church. Above all

But he takes from the Old Testament his view of the fight for the faith. The hatred of the Old Testament against the enemies of Yahweh is a sacred duty, also for the true Christian against those who falsify the word of God, that is, the confessors of the old faith. Calvin teaches this in all openness and sharpness. In this battle he even makes the last words of the **132nd Psalm** his own: -Daughter of Babel, thou destroyer, salvation to him who

Forgive you for what you have done to us. Hail to you, who seizes Deîne's children and shatters them on the rock'"
Wilhelm Neuss'

-Nichis was a stranger to this great **man than** Concilianx. Calvin knows no middle way; only the **one,** the only one. **For** him, there is only the gauze or nothingness, full authority or complete renunciation. He will never reach a compromise, because ... Only this stony unshakeability, this icy and inhuman rigidity explains the secret of his political victory. For only such self-obsession, such grandly bombastic self-conviction makes a man a leader in world history. The majority, which has always succumbed to suggestion, h a s never submitted to the patient and righteous, but only to the great monomaniacs who had the courage to proclaim their truth as the only possible one, their will as the basic formula of world law. -
Stefan Zweig'

As was customary for a ruler, Charles V, the emperor of the Reformation, waged one war after another. And as was also customary, he waged these wars primarily against Christian princes, and of course for the salvation of all Christendom and the glory of God, as his Grand Chancellor, the Piedmontese Mercurino Gat- tinara, suggested to him after the election of the emperor in a memorandum that begins with the five sentences: - Sire, since God has bestowed on you this immense grace to exalt you above all the kings and princes of Christendom and to a power that only your predecessor Charlemagne had previously possessed, you are on the way to world monarchy, to the gathering of Christendom under one shepherd.

Now, on the way to the monarchy, the bloody conflicts with Catholic and Protestant opponents were joined by conflicts with the Ottoman Empire, expeditions

• s i s against Tunis, i 5¢ i, with heavy losses, against Algiec, further the advances in Ükrsee, the conquest of Mexico (i 5z x) and

-- (° 533)- But all this cost money, a lot of money. And had Charles already spent money on winning the crown I y Ig for the German electors

huge bribes that could only be raised with the help of the Fuggers (Vlll4 33), - again and again a mostly precarious financial situation forced him to raise new capital, new loans

and, of course, repeatedly to the rude fleecing of the subjects o n both sides of the gulf.

Thus he, in whose empire the sun never set, had established and exploited viceroyalties in Mexico and Peru i 53_5 and r Jg 3 respectively, above all the seemingly inexhaustible silver mining industry, especially since the i y3os, to finance his wars in Europe. After all, with ever-increasing debt, they devoured

and enormous credit operations up to the state bankruptcy in 5 57 {the emperor literally lived off his debts in the end)
-extraordinarily high financial resources" {Lutz). (The protection of the
Dutch border areas in the First War against Francis I cost more than zoo ooo guilders per month).

Of course, the main rival also had to dig deep into foreign pockets. However, both soldiers, mostly mercenaries, also fought in Italy, a constant object of dispute between the Habsburgs and the French. And none other than Charles's Grand Chancellor Gatiinara, advocate of a fierce anti-French course and particularly eloquent protagonist of the -monarchia universalis-, **castigated** Italy as a consequence of his own court's policy: "endless plundering, daily robbery, extortion and rape, disgrace to the French and the Habsburgs".
£-women and girls, arson, and all other abominable and pernicious things for the desolation of the most beautiful country.

Yes, the Emperor himself confessed that Italy had suffered indescribably at the hands of my armies in eight years of war. And elsewhere e3 was not much better. When Charles V invaded France in 544, with
a "miserable army", exclaims the eyewitness Bernardino Navagero, Venetian ambassador to the imperial court: - Everywhere you look, nothing but fire and flames. France tasted the bitterest fruits of war like never before during this time!

The Kaisec, - true protector and defender of the h1. faith and the Christian religion", as he boasts himself, also advo- catus ecclesiae, -advocate and eldest son of our mother, the Holy Church", is operating under the sign of the -Plus oultre"- or - Plus ultra -- Devisc (i.e.: - far beyond the usual) on the way to the
• Dominium mundi- again and again, especially in northern Italy, in the Dutch-French and Spanish-French border regions, while his conquistadors founded the extensive Spanish colonial empire in Central and South America.

According to the well-informed Venetian ambassador Gasparo Contarini, the young Prince already had "a great fondness for military affairs and a great desire to wage war one day. He would also like to lead a campaign against the infidels.

and move to Italy - in the belief that his greatness depended on his coming". As he himself confessed, he then went on campaigns to Germany seven times, Spain six times, Italy seven times, France four times, England twice and Africa twice.

The secular shepherd of all Christendom, who occasionally made mutually exclusive concessions to Catholics and Protestants in secret declarations, even harassed the Pope with Lutherans. After all, his soldiery organized the bloodthirsty Sacco di Roma, which shocked the Western world immensely and m a d e the Holy Father and thirteen cardinals prisoners of German lansquenets in Castel Sant'Angelo for seven months - "queste bestie di Tedeschi", as the Pope called them.

called it, or also -quella canaglia herctica" {VIIi d37). At that time, Bartolomeo Ganinara, the brother of the great

kanilers: We await the prompt instructions of Your Majesty concerning the government of Rome, namely whether or not any kind of Apostolic See should remain in this city."

However, Charles V also fought Catholics together with the Vicar of Christ, such as the Republic of Florence in 5 zq/z 530, or Protestants, as in the Schmalkaldic conflict, in which Paul III recalled his own troops with hypocritical congratulations for the victor when the latter threatened to become too strong, even reaching the height of his power in Europe. And when the Pope's son, Duke Pier Luigi Farnese, was murdered in the fall of i yqy, the Holy Father visited the emperor for the bloody deed.

In the Schmalkaldic War (54 - sky), however, the Lutheran Duke Moritz of Saxony, lured by the promise of the electoral dignity, also fought on the side of the Habsburgs against his co-religionists and his cousin, the Saxon Elector John Frederick I. And when Moritz the - Over1buyer" {in Protestant historiography since then figuring as - Judas von MeiBen-) had become Elector in place of his cousin is47 by the Emperor, he placed himself a t t h e head of the conspiracy of princes against Charles, formed a secret alliance with Henry II of France, seized the cities of Toul, Metz,

Verdun and Cambrai and fights the Emperor, forcing him to flee Innsbruck, his residence'.

But both monarchs, the favorite game of those who make or want to make history, were out to expand their power, to conquer and destroy the opposing empire and assert their own hegemony, whereby the fronts were often very confused and often changed as quickly as the military successes.

5o the "most catholic king" Francis I. late in the twenties with the -infidels- and signed a long-prepared trade treaty with Constantinople in 536, which - in reality an offensive alliance against the emperor - turned France's seaports into Turkish bases; an -unholy alliance" that the emperor, the secular shepherd of J;anzen Christendom, tried to break up diplomatically, which of course the "most Catholic king- now -with all the infernal arts of a ruthless counter-policy- |Kretschmayr) thwarted and led to several armed conflicts in the Mediterranean during the Third War t x 3ö-i y 38) between the French king and the Habsburg.

German Protestants also joined i 5 rfi y a in the conspiracy of princes against the "cattle Spanish servitude" and, after negotiations with the Bishop of Bayonne, formed a coalition in the Treaty of Chambord with what was now known as the

-Henry II of F r a n c e , w h o h a d succeeded his father Francis I since I f47, invaded Lorraine, judged by the law of the realm to have committed outright treason.

Henry 11, as a strict Catholic, fought the Huguenots in his own country'.

In addition to the never-ending struggle for hegemony between France and the Habsburgs and other major disputes in foreign and domestic policy, such as the constantly feared Turkish threat and the wolfish rule of the Inquisition, there were considerable and gradually growing permanent conflicts between the estates and cities, as well as unrest in Spain and the empire characterized by class antagonisms and social revolutionary tendencies, which the emperor once called "this strong and violent conflict".

most warlike country ... in Christendom". There, as there, it was about the internal balance of power, the stilling of the power struggle, the question, as Charles's sister Mary of Hungary, politically and militarily highly accomplished and governor of the Netherlands since x53 i, wrote to her brother, "whether Your Majesty will be master or servant."

There can be widespread persecution, torture of the most atrocious kind, cannonades and bloody field battles. For example, there was the uprising of the "Gommunidades de Castilla" in Castile {z 5soft yai) with extensive c o n f i s c a t i o n s of goods and forced laborers on the estates of the nobility, i $ my to their forced baptism or expulsion. This can lead to a series of revolts in Dutch cities, such as the uprising in Flanders in 53q, where the emperor, who did not want to help finance the war against France, had a large part of Ghent, including the kitchen, torn down, public property confiscated and all rights and privileges taken away from the citizens; certain freedoms were further restricted, the cities were even more tightly controlled and the heads of the leaders rolled.

As Charles Y off bcwufit vague, even devious attempts at equalization with his opponents failed, ez, already more of a melancholic in his mentality, gradually became embittered; whereby his excessive search for consolation in the Old Testament and with King David in particular (cf. I 8y ff.) could hardly make him any milder. Thus, in his last letter to his son at the beginning of September ryy8, he burdened him -with all his authority and urgency and as I can only do and as it is my duty: I command him as his loving father and for the sake of the obedience he o w e s me, as the most important and main thing, that the heretics be destroyed and bcsirafr with all possible emphasis of force, without exception and without mercy t.....}, and for my greatest relief and reassurance." -

As usual, the "heretics" were themselves soon divided, founding various denominations and falling into groups, with the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli, a temporary military chaplain, being the first to achieve major importance.

THE CHURCH CAN
-LESSONS nUscii BLOOD" EARNING

While Charles V pursued his world power ambitions and waged his wars, the Reformation spread. Already x y i 8 spreading to Switzerland through Zwingli, it came*54 with Calvin to Geneva. In the meantime, she had already explored 5 Scandinavia. Denmark and Norway through King Christian III, Sweden through Gustav I Wasa, and England through Henry VIII at• i34 . Finally, in the east, in Poland, it gained power under Sigismund II.

AUgUStus (- s -*s7-}sosrark to ground, dat i 563 the Protestan- were given the same rights as the Catholics.

Although the new faith consolidated as it spread, it also fragmented, as was the case with its mafia representatives in Switzerland, even though both received decisive impulses from Germany, something that L2alvin never denied, while Zwingli emphasized: "I will bear no other name than that of my Captain Jesus Christ, whose champion I am.'"

Ukich Zwingli {later also known as Huldrych or Huldreich in the form he himself refined) was born*4 ¢ in Wildhaus, a high-altitude village near Sankt Gallen, as the son of a larger

He was born a mountain farmer and farmhand and was initially educated by an uncle, a priest. Between i q9g and i 5o6, he attended the universities in Vienna and Basel, which had a strong humanistic influence on him, and entered the parish ministry after completing his theological studies in Glarus and Einsiedeln. Twice he accompanied the papal Swiss troops into Lombardy and into the battles of Novara { i 5 i 3) and Ma-

rignano {i yz5). *5*7 *he made a pilgrimage to Aachen and also successfully sought an honorary title from the pope the following year, whose war policy he at first strongly supported.

The Swiss soldiery seemed to him to be an instrument of divine punishment against the enemies of the Roman See. After all, he had been drawing an annual pension from Rome since i y i y, even though his moral reputation was severely tainted; but the more immorally he himself lived, the more he thundered about the lack of morals.

of the Clerus - {Cardinal Hergenröther), a proven celibate practice.

From r 5 i g lieutenant priest at the GroBmünster, the main church in Zurich, he soon became the leading cleric there, and through his skillful dealings with the council between i 5zz and i 5a5, he brought the Reformation doctrine to the fore.

Supported by Paul and Augustine and not influenced by a plague, but without any particular emotional distress, he began to interpret the Bible in a reformatory way in the center of Europe, in the economically important city, the capital of the Confederation, which had been effectively detached from the empire since rqqq. He fought against the veneration of the saints, the righteousness of works, fasting, the feast, confession, indulgences, papal primacy, the celibacy, processions, the liturgy, in short, all the -Roman excesses and seductions-, not least the Catholic institutes, whose assets were of course confiscated.

Zwingli's first reformatory foray was a sausage meal during Lent. It should not be underestimated. However, as the volume "The Churches in German History" emphasizes, the hearty act was aimed more deeply at the "freedom of a Christian man". The Zurich Christians were so free, not to say revolutionary, to eat sausage despite the church's prohibition to the contrary; incidentally: at the book filler Froschauer. And so the first revolutionary pioneering work by the Swiss new believer soon appeared in print: the fessalia treatise "Von Erkiesen und Freiheit der Speisen" (i y zz).

And soon the sausage eating was followed by further fromine liberation blows.

Zwingli and the city council had altars, relics, crucifixes and organs in the churches smashed, but then punished the iconoclasts. The reformer took the widow Anna Reinhardt as his wife, with whom he had already been living unlawfully for years (Cardinal Hergenröther), since i 5za in a secret marriage, since i 5zq in a public marriage, and gradually and not without hesitant caution established: the celebration of communion, the alms order, care for the sick, the abolition of dress pomp, the marriage and morality court, before

but above all, like the other theologians of the Reformation, the Bible,
-the dictatorship of the Word of God- (Uta Ranke-Heinemann), as the only basis of faith - "solus scriptura", "solus Christus", "the one way to holiness". -The Holy Scriptures must be a guide and teacher; whoever uses them correctly will go out without a struggle, even if this does not please those scholarly gentlemen very much. In the other case we will fare badly, for knowledge of the Scriptures is **not** a **prerogative** of the priests today, but has become a common good ... -

Mass, on the other hand, could and had to be dispensed with. The priests no longer wanted to be "God's butchers" and in April i5zy abolished the sacred act, which for Zwingli was merely a horrible insult to Christ, with the narrow majority of the city council.
"For if Christ must be sacrificed anew every day, it follows that the sacrifice h e offered once on the cross is not sufficient for all eternity. Is there any greater defamation than this?

With the abolition of idolatry and the ban on attending Catholic masses abroad, the Reformation had prevailed in Zurich, the parish had been replaced by the citizenry, the church rcgiment had been replaced by state authority and, **according to Zwingli,** the secular authorities now had church sovereignty on the bishop's staff and thus had to carry out God's will.

Huldrych Zwingli, the secular cleric and Hunianist who, despite a Although he had a different educational background, a different mentality and a different theological approach, the German monk of the same age insisted that he had come to the gospel independently and was not Lutheran. -"So I want the peasants to call me Lutheran, for I have learned the emptiness of Christ from Luther, but from the word of God himself." Nevertheless, Zwingli was influenced by Luther, but more so by Erasmus of Rotterdam, even if his theology had its own characteristics.

Even in the early days of the Zwinglians, however, there was a Fission.

More and more of their followers sought autonomy, disputing the jurisdiction of the Zurich Council in spiritual matters, even if the disputes were to be ignited by the payment of tithes. Zwingli had initially attacked them himself - some of this is reminiscent of Luther's dealings with the peasants (cf. VIII 3qo f.) - but was unable to deprive the church of its material basis.

Disappointed by this attitude, disappointed also by his other half-heartedness, his retreat from state power, the dissatisfied, radicals, who also propagated adult baptism, persecuted by the council, finally founded the first Anabaptist commune. It happened i 5a J in Zollikon, just outside the city, from where the Anabaptist movement spread rapidly across Switzerland, splitting again into a defenseless and a defensive direction; while other Anabaptist centers emerged very quickly in Central Germany, i 5z6 in Thuringia and Franconia, and t ş 3o in the Netherlands.

There were already Anabaptist congregations in five hundred towns and villages. However, the first martyrdoms had also been around for a long time. For Zwingli had initially taught that "Christ does not want to be forced into faith by force", that the "pure gospel" did not need "human support", but rather h a d its own power. But with the help of the secular arm, it was easier to push. And so the reformer, who had in the meantime

. • s• the papal pension with his own letter of resignation, x J zz had also resigned his priesthood, with the Zurich Council, the secular authorities - Sy mögend alone
kill with justice ..." - and put seİt I §Z6 atlf the adult dew
the death penalty.

Of course, Zwingĺi was less disturbed by the practice of faith, the dew, than by the threat to his civic reformation and its social foundations. After all, he himself freely confessed: -It is not about baptism, but about sedition, discord, heresy! - He feared the social radicalism of the Anabaptists, the upheaval.
-Jeen-, ez raged, "who are so well advised that they know that all things should belong to all in common, should be an example of

Christian Zwingli appreciated tolerance, but only if his opponents practiced it and gave him the same leeway for the opposite, the unconditional suppression of all other denominations under his power, whether they were sectarians or Catholics. "Why shouldn't the Christian city council destroy statues and abolish the mass? ... This does not mean that he must cut the throats of the priests, because it is possible to avoid such a cruel act. But if it is not possible, we would not hesitate to emulate even the harshest examples."

How similar all Christian leaders are in their decisions.

Just as Lurher, the "homo religiosus", backed the princely state, Zwingli, the "homo theologicus et politicus", backed the politically and economically powerful canton, the autonomous city republic with its considerable territory. However, he conceded to it not only the regulation of secular affairs but, unlike Luther, also of spiritual, specifically ecclesiastical affairs with far-reaching social discipline. For Zwingli, a Christian city was now -nothing other than a Christian church, a Christian man nothing other than a faithful and good citizen.- A secular clerical regiment was in the offing, the "Zurich State Church", a kind of first "Protestant national church", &beginning of the confessional division of the Confederation.

There were hostilities. The Anabaptist Felix Manz, son of a canon at Grofimünster, was drowned in the Limmat in January i_5 7. And it didn't stop there. "We want them all", decided the council with Zwingli's approval, "without mercy ... let them be drowned ... The baptist Ludwig Hetzer, first a Catholic priest, then a fiery Zwinglian who allegedly took twelve wives, was accused of adultery and of being a defender of marriage.

was publicly beheaded in Constance. And the trials against the Anabaptists continued in Bavaria, Hesse and Thuringia until the 1940s. Catholics in Switzerland too

Anabaptists, in Catholic Lucerne for example the Zurich cobbler Hottinger, who tore down the first crucifix and beheaded it.

On the other hand, the Zwinglians also acted violently against the Catholics - the useless priests and bishops - especially in Bem, in Basel, where the executioner cut off the heads of all the images of the Lord and the saints in a procession to the Great Minster and then burned them in nine heaps. Catholics were expelled from the council, abusive pamphlets were circulated, affairs, statues and the eternal light were destroyed, mass was abolished, and churches, which in Switzerland were often in a catastrophic state, were abolished. They were sometimes stormed, such as the monastery of St. Gallen, whose abbot and monks were expelled, or even set ablaze, such as the Ittingen Charterhouse. Bishop Paul of Chur moved to Ticino, the Basel cathedral chapter to Neuchâtel and Freiburg im Breisgau. And while the blasphemers of the Reformation were liquidated in Zurich and elsewhere, in Graubünden for example the Abbot Theodul Schlegel of St. Luzi (Chur) after horrific torture, in the regions that remained Catholic, in Lucerne, Schwyz and Baden, those who had stormed and abused the church were also executed, in some cases with cruelty.'*.

Supported more by the craftsmen's guilds than by the upper
Zwingli was able to spread the Reformation far beyond Zurich, especially in the city cantons of Bern and Basel, as well as in Schaffhausen and parts of southern Germany. The resulting increased resistance
Of course, the Catholics' standpoint increasingly fueled the Christian fratricidal struggle, especially with the central Swiss. i y z8, the Old Believers broke the peace in the Bernese Oberland. The next year, the civil war, known as the First Cappel War, was barely prevented by the First Cappel Truce, but the confessional division of the Confederates was also perpetuated.

And there were new conflicts, a food blockade against the Catholic places, whose dogged boycott of all efforts at unification Zwingli sought to break. He wanted to bring the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Lucerne, which were particularly defiant towards him, under his command, if necessary b y military means.

The whole country was to be liberated, cleansed and purged of false Christianity. Zwingli had already x y zo in his letter to Myconius {s. Motto), Zwingli had already called upon the people, like Hercules, to muck o u t the excrement of so many bulls, without allowing themselves to be stopped or annoyed, even if whole sponges of vermin were to surround them - he had already openly confessed at the time that the church could only be renewed through blood, not otherwise ... - And this is precisely what he had called "always teaching Christianity, - teaching Christ genuinely . .. - and compared Christians of other faiths to " excrement and vermin", as was already customary in the ancient church and by its greatest leaders and seducers (I Chapter 3!).

Zwingli was driven to attack, indeed he thought he was as evangelical as ag-

gressive, to a much greater clash, to a pact against Habsburg that also included Philip of Hesse and Francis 1 of France. For, as I said, the reformer had nothing against bloodshed in principle, as he once had as a Catholic. War seemed necessary to him, as it was necessary for Luther and for all advocates of the religion of love of enemies. Only against the

-He appeared in the "Reislaufen" (running on a journey as a Landsknecht) against the military service of Swiss mercenaries under a foreign flag. They were already massacring each other ...

In the autumn of i y3 i, the people of Zurich mobilized, but were far outnumbered and had "never f a r e d so badly and so badly with the statr panners". On October i i, they suffered a heavy defeat at Kappel, west of Lake Zurich, in the battle against the original cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Niedwalden, which had remained Old Believers. Zwingli, in helmet and harness, weapons in hand, fell wounded into the hands of the Catholics, was beaten to death, his body quartered and burned, allegedly alongside pig excrement to immortalize his ashes. Now the Old Believers were cleansing the country.'*

Zwingli's death in battle, proclaimed by Catholics and Lutherans alike as the right judgment of God on the heretic, abruptly ended the expansion of the Reformation under Zurich's leadership in Switzerland and southern Germany. The new faith now remained in the

Mainly limited to the four city states of Zurich, Basel, B¢rn and Schaffhausen: And a certain influence of Zwingli also extends from the Palatinate to England and Scotland, from the Netherlands to Hungary - outside the Confederacy no church explicitly refers to him.

Like Luther, Zwirlgli fought the peasant unrest, like Luther he went against the Anabaptists, and like Luther he rejected the authority of the church, the church fathers and the Coricilians. Like Luther, he was a biblicist, he saw the Bible as the highest source of faith, he advocated a very similar doctrine of grace, he emphasized the absolute predestination, the sole efficacy of God, he resolutely denied human free will in all so-called matters of salvation, he denied the benefits of good works, the Mass, consecration, indulgences, vows. Like Luther, he rejected the idea of purgatory and attributed sin and evil, only more sharply, to God, who was all in all, the being of things; whereas freedom, wanting to be one's own god, led to polytheism.

Luther was, all in all, more religiously minded, albeit, as the Munich professor of church history Alois Knöpfler, doctor of theology and philosophy, privy court councillor and archbishop's ecclesiastical councillor once pointed out, on an after-mystical basis; Zwingli was more humanistically influenced, practically closer to the community, more rationally radical and even more politically oriented.

Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, however, came into sharp contrast with Luther's at the end of the nineteen-twenties. For him, this had only a symbolic character - it was a meal of confession, a memorial meal, a reminder of Christ's suffering and death. Accordingly, there was no real transformation, no "objective" presence of the Lord in bread and wine, no real presence, as Rome taught, no consubstantiation, as Luther taught, who believed Christ's body and blood to be physically present in the Lord's Supper without any change of substance in the bread and wine.

For Luther, who referred to the Verba Testamenti, Jesus' so-called words of institution, "This is my body", the Lord's Supper *is the* body and blood of Christ; for Zwingli it *means* the body and blood of Christ. Zwingli wanted to use the -Hoc est-, as is often the case with trans

Luther wanted the -is- to be understood even more magically, literally, wanted Christ's flesh to be bitten into almost with his teeth - as the Dionysus mystics once enjoyed the flesh of their dying and resurrecting god (cf. Abeimals krähte der Hahn,7S ff.) - and Luther himself, he claimed, also ate wooden apostles.
fel and dung, it would have given birth to Christ.

The Wittenberger, who had written the words "This is my body" in chalk on the table in front of him during the dispute with Zwingli in Marburg, pushed theo-logic into a corner until he assumed the ubiquity of the divine body, its extension into the limitlessness, omnipresence, its presence even in every foodstuff, to a completely absurd doctrine of the Lord's Supper (Nestle), which of course is every doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Zwingli, who derided the Lutherans as God's meat-eaters, saw the doctrine of ubiquity as a contradiction to the dogma of the two natures. Nevertheless, he declared: -There are no people on the face of the earth with whom I would rather be one than with the Witienbergers.- Luther, on the other hand, who remained unshaken even by the mockery of the "baked Lord" and relied here on the tradition of the old church, "the books and writings of the dear fathers", "both Greek and Latin, and the daily custom and the work with experience up to this day", called the Zwinglians "Satanic servants for whom no Christian should pray, who should be exterminated, since they had "a devilish, deviled, over-deviled, blasphemous heart and lying mouth".

The dispute over the Lord's Supper was not settled by the three-day back and forth between Luther and Zwingli and their followers at the so-called Marburg religious discussion in October i5zq (although they agreed on i 5 points, the "Marburg Articles"), nor by further, increasingly fierce battles over the Lord's Supper, sometimes carried out in the most edifying neo-Scholastic rabulism. Theologically, they formed the only essential opposition between Lutherans and Zwinglians, who broke into two camps, the Saxon and the Swiss Reformation, and

remained separated through the centuries. (It was only towards the end of his life that Luther, according to a statement by Melanchthon, is said to have realized that in the dispute over the Lord's Supper he was in opposition to the Zwinglians.
-too much done").

On the other hand, Zwingli agreed with Calvin on the question of the Lord's Supper and thus initiated a rapprochement with Calvinism, which ultimately led to a "Calviri Swiss national church".

CALVIN LÄ5ST MiCHAEL ÜERVET VERBRENNEFf

John Calvin became far more important than Zwingli i* 5 9'* 5 4). undoubtedly the most influential religious innovator alongside Luther.

Born Jean Cauvin in the northern French town of Noyon in Picardy, his father, an apostolic notary and administrator of the cathedral chapter, ordained him a priest at an early age. At the age of i a, the boy was already given an ecclesiastical benefice, soon followed by a second one. However, after a dispute with the cathedral chapter, the i 5z8 excommunicated (i y3 x dying in the church ban} father a s k e d h i m to study for a J "rasrudium instead of theology. In the process
The jurist, reading the Bible and the church fathers, similar to the humanist Magister Zwingli, a "lateral entrant", gradually joined the Reformarion, but only renounced his Noyon benefice in 34 - and only in return for compensation.
Suspected of Lutheran heresy, Calvin was forced to resign at the end of i 5 y

flee from Paris to Basel to escape the king's persecution, where he zy year old wrote his main work, which is mostly based on Luther, highly successful -Chrisrianae Religionis Institutio- (with a famous dedication to King Francis I, whom he championed for his cause), first published anonymously in5 36 and constantly expanded in the following years.
The author is said to have written the most important work on Reformation theory, the "classic Apology of the Reformation". Afterwards, the author came to Geneva as -Lector of the Scriptures-

, whose bourgeoisie

had been fighting the bishop for a long time. Calvin immediately introduced a new formula of faith, a new catechism and a different order of church and life in general, but his overzealousness aroused the leading patrician circles and after just two years, z y38, he was expelled from the city republic for denying communion to the sinful, morally disreputable congregation.

He then worked as a preacher and professor in Strafiburg, married is4 Idelette de Bure, the widow of an Anabaptist, and finally, at the request of Geneva, returned in the fall of i mphings4 • •• •
back to the place where his church order was published on January z, .• 54s
The city became a new center of Protestantism, a theocratic dictatorship, soon of considerably greater international importance than Wittenberg."

Calvin now ruled in -proiestantischeri Rome as a Protestant pope (as ec was already called at the time), and he ruled draconically, not shying away from either banishments or executions. He declared early on and in an arrogant manner typical of the branch, -the preachers have to command all from the highest to the lowest, they have to establish the statutes of God and destroy the kingdom of Satan, spare the lambs and exterminate the wolves, they have to admonish and instruct the obedient, accuse and destroy the recalcitrant. They can bind and loose, hurl lightning and thunder, but all this according to Gorre's **word."**

His basis of faith was indeed the Bible, "la parole de Dieu-. It existed before the Church and it stood above it, the only maxim of thought, of faith, of law; indeed, there was no other truth beyond and outside of it "en dehors et au öela"). Thus, he insisted, we must accept what it proclaims -with humble docility, and accept it without exception ..." All religious knowledge depends on this. - "Faith can no more be separated from the word than rays from the sun."
-'Take away the word, and no faith remains.

Calvin, whose state could once be described as

He described the Old and New Testaments as completely equal to each other; indeed, the Old Bible is particularly important to him because of *its* condemnation of all the *infidels.* He also adopted the basic ideas of the Catholic Inquisition, even overtaking them by not waiting for denunciations, but unleashing his own pack of civil servants or paid informers and spies - on the lives of everyone, as he prescribes to his henchmen, by subjecting everything to a disgusting university control, whereby the professional snoopers are soon joined by an army of volunteers driven by anticipatory obedience, by pure **fear.**

The Catholic Dictionary of Theology and the Church calls Calvin • of cruel harshness and ruthless fanaticism", but - in the same breath - "more noble and consistent than Luther, religiously find sirtually higher than Zwingli".'-.

At least Calvin, who burns "ketsers", he- xes and sorcerers like Luthet, took the truth somewhat more seriously, while the great Wittenbergcr, according to Grisar, almost "formally" established a "new theology of lies", a "new system". New, by the way, because lies and deception for the glory of God, and not only for this purpose, have often been permitted in Christianity from the very beginning.

The Old Testament already contains lies and deceit, and it also blesses lies and deceit (III35 ff.7 f.}. In the New Testament, however, Paul, the oldest Christian **author,** does not want to be called a sinner.

stand there, -when God's truthfulness as a result of my lying {!) has come out all *the more strongly to* a loss- (Rönn. 3,d}. Just as other great theologians of the early Church, Origen for example, the Doctor of the Church John Chrysostom, the "Goldmund", also permitted lying for the purpose of the salvation of souls and as a means of salvation {cf. But- the cock crows 3O f.J.

Luther initially taught that lying was "contrary to human nature and the greatest enemy of human society". But soon he too was lying, and he in particular was so outspoken. After all, he knew that people were already lying in the holy book of the Bible. Abraham lies, Michol lies, the Egyptian midwives lie, Judith, who murders the Assyrian general Holofernes, lies, lies right from the start.

The Old Testament scholar, Cardinal Archbishop of Munich and Hitler party supporter Michael Faulhaber enthusiastically praises her in this volume - a whole fabric of deliberate lies - Yes, and if the alœn celebrated Catholic church lights Origen, John Chrysostom, Hilarius, Cassian etc. already stood up so eloquently for the lie, then why shouldn't he, Dr. Martin Luther,
-do "a good, strong lie" and condone certain lies? Lying is called nul, "if you want to harm your neighbor with it". But
if, he explains, who still considered any kind of lying to be unlawful, -when I lie, that I do not lie to harm, but only to serve and benefit, that I promote his good and best,
that's what you call service lies. Such lies of utility and service, such good, useful lies were not lies for Luther, - rather they were deeds, indeed could be his "work of love". - A good, strong lie for the sake of better things and the Christian church, a white lie, a useful lie, a helpful lie would not be against God.
-all for crlaubt-.

Not every Protestant thought and taught like this, but, writes Bern- hard Häring, one of the leading Catholic moral theologians of the zo. Century: -Most Lutherans follow the view of their reformer.

As I said, the head of the Geneva church refused to do so. But
In other respects, Luther still overtaf et Luther."

Calvin was an extremely senseless, joylessly bilious zealot who, apart from his hunger for power, for dominion over souls, seemed to feel no pleasure in life other than the ironclad enforcement of his "doctrine". Neither nature nor art attracted him, neither wine delighted him nor sex. And while Luther could say with a twinkle in his eye: "If the woman won't do it, the maid will", while Zwingli brought an illegitimate child into the world in his very first pastorate, Calvin did not marry a woman for two decades after his wife's death, until his own death. Only, of course, that this man, who lived alone in his theological delusions, who is said to have slept only three or four hours, was tormented almost constantly by the most diverse afflictions. Almost every one of his

Letters reports new afflictions. "Soon it is migraines that throw him into bed for days, then stomach aches, headaches, hemorrhoids, colic, colds, nerve spasms and hemorrhages, gallstones and carbuncles, soon flying fevers and again chilblains, rheumatism and bladder problems." Undaunted, he consults the doctors and declares that his health is similar to constant dying.

Since his early youth he has dressed only in black, from his beard to his shoes. tfnd his face is cold, as forbidding as death. According to Stefan Zweig in his very readable book Catellio gegen Calvin odef Ein Gewissen gegen die Gewalt (Catellio against Calvin or A Conscience against Violence), it is impossible to imagine anyone wishing to have the likeness of this implacable taskmaster on the wall of their room - "one's breath would run colder from one's mouth if one constantly felt the watchful, peering gaze of this most unfriendly of men over one's daily activities. Zurbaran's painting of Calvin could best be imagined in the Spanish-fanatical manner in which he depicted ascetics and anachors, dark iii dark, isolated from the world and living in caves, with the book in front of him, always the ßuch and at most a skull or the cross as the only symbols of spiritual life; all around, however, a cold and vibrant, an unapproachable solitude. For this respectful space of human aloofness surrounded Calvin all his life."-'

The stubbornly pitiless one, however, now sought to make his own moral soul, his dark ideology the norm for all, sought to impose his renunciation of pleasure on his followers, an entire commu- nity, an entire denomination. Calvin, whose first work was Seneca's "De clementia", an exhortation to tolerance from the ruler, established a highly intolerant theocracy, led by the consistory, a kind of "tribunal of inquisition", consisting of six clergymen and twelve laymen, over whom he presided. The infamous "digcipline" was practiced, a disgusting clerical discipline that was to further the social discipline that was common at the time.

-far behind him" (Christ). Calvin rules through pure terror, bloodless as well as bloody. The man of God, himself too

sensitive, too blood-shy to ever witness even a single embarrassing interrogation, his repertoire of torture of thumbscrews and stretch-rope still enhanced by the chauffement de pieds, the roasting of the soles of the feet.

Stefan Zweig writes that Knie has known as many blood sentences, punishments, tortures and exiles in Geneva as Calvin has since ruled there in the name of God. - And Balzac finds the religious nightmare in Geneva even more gruesome than all the horrors of the French Revolution. -Calvin's furious religious intolerance was morally more scourged and merciless than Robespierre's political intolerance, and if he had been given a wider sphere of influence than Geneva, Calvin would have shed even more blood than the terrible apostle of political equality."

Even more than by blood, however, Calvin intimidated Geneva with a particularly spiritual reign of terror.

Old and young were caterhized, moralized, church attendance was controlled, as was participation in the "Lord's Day", four per year; failure to attend resulted in a year's banishment. The taverns disappeared in favor of so-called "Ab- teien" (five drinking establishments), and everyone was only allowed to visit the drinking establishment in their district. Gambling and dancing were banned, as was art in all its forms, including music, swearing and card games were punished, and a gambling carnival manufacturer had to pay a public fine. Theater, public festivals, even jokes were frowned upon, especially about Calvin. Even ice skating was frowned upon. There were regular interrogations, visitations, eavesdropping on conversations, opinion polls, the entire life of society and families was systematically monitored, d o w n to the most private details, the wardrobe, the larder, the bookcase, the bed. Prison for peasants who t a l k e d business after church; prison for citizens who threw dice for a quarter of wine; prison for people who bowled. Prison for someone who let a smile slip during the act of baptism, prison for someone who fell asleep during the sermon, etc. Children were still punished mercilessly. A lack of reverence for the court was punished as rebellion against God and the holy religion, a book printer was punished for committing a crime.

Calvin's tongue was pierced with red-hot iron before he was chased out. Fighting the doctrine of predestination could result in scourging to the point of blood on all the city's crosses and perpetual exile. Blasphemy against Calvin cost Jacques Grue' his head in 547.

Better too harsh than too mild, judges the Reformer, when eS "Got-

tes honor". And not least his! cc openly confesses that he would always rather see an innocent person suffer punishment than see a single guilty person escape it. And just as openly he confesses to disciplining himself in his severity towards others, - I practise my severity to combat the general vices.

Calvin, who belonged to the second generation of reformers, always recognized Luther's priority, even praising him as an enlightened role model, as a genius, as a - first among the servants of Christ, to whom we all owe much - Calvin did not want a dispute with Luther. And when such a dispute broke out, he wished his followers to "remember what a great man Luther is, what extraordinary gifts of the Spirit he possesses. How bravely and intrepidly, how skillfully, how learnedly and effectively he has so far worked to destroy the reign of Antichrist and to spread the doctrine of salvation. I have often said: If he called me a devil, I would still do him the honor of considering him an outstanding servant of God, who admittedly also suffers from great faults, just as he is rich in glorious virtues."

Calvin also shared Luther's general principles of Protestantism, but believed that he was still caught up in certain late church ideas. Although he was less original, spontaneous and impulsive, he was more systematic, more consistent and, at least theologically, set even sharper accents.

How, of course, the doctrine of man's original freedom of will {until -his spirit fell into corruption- and became -guilty of divine judgment") was compatible with the absolute predestination of his individual destiny remained Calvin's -impenetrable mystery" (Iserloh). Nevertheless, he held fast to the predestination of man by God, to the -

of the infamous double predestination to eternal bliss or eternal damnation. Indeed, it became the epitome of Calvinist dogma, a cardinal controversy between Calvinism and Lutheranism.

Curiously enough - although what is not curious here! - it should be said that the Reformed Leiden theologians split into two groups, some of whom accepted divine election even before the fall of Adam and Eve, before the creation of the human race {supra- or anti-lapsarianism), the others only afterwards (infra- or post-lapsarianism; infra seu post lapsum).

• Predestination is the eternal counsel of God, by which he has determined for himself what shall become of every man; for not a l l a r e created to the same lot, but eternal life is given to some, and eternal damnation to others.

Calvin even taught the predestination of a part of humanity to sin. God, he knew - from where again? -God had created these unfortunates specifically to sin in order to demonstrate his justice on them - just as he demonstrates his mercy on the elect! So the sinners were not c o n d e m n e d because they sinned, but because God had condemned them. Adam also possessed the liberum arbitrium, the free will - and yet he sinned necessarily because he was predestined!

Calvin's election of grace, writes Friedrich Engels, "was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition, success or bankruptcy does not depend on the activity or skill of the individual, but on circumstances that are independent of him. 'Thus it is not a matter of someone's will or running, but of the mercy of unknown economic powers. And this was especially true at a time of economic upheaval, when all the old trade routes and trading centers were being supplanted by new ones, when America and India were being opened to the world, and when even the most time-honored economic articles of faith - the values of gold and silver - were being shaken and shattered.'"

Calvin w a s restless and versatile. He authored an un

my wealth of treatises, including pamphlets against Catholics, sectarians and fanatics, he preached about sooo sermons, gave lectures, presided over court hearings, and of course he was well paid for all this and more; church historian Cardinal Hergenröther attributes "significant incomes" to him.

Calvin was an outstanding organizer, a prudent pro- pagandist, and a political thinker who preferred the republican constitution to the monarchy, the aristocratic-oligarchic form of government to democracy, and denied all power to princes who resisted the Gospel, even calling for an uprising against them. His ideal was the imposition of -divine rule-, the "Gotresstaat", quite obviously a parson state to his liking. He tolerated no dissent, rigorously attacked the heretics and defended the death penalty for them in one of his own writings. He organized trials against "plague spreaders", against witches of course, and taught people to hate the enemies of God with deadly hatred. He fanatically insisted on the "purity" of his congregation, a congregation not only of the "hearers", but of the

"Gchorchenden-, also, in contrast to the late Vinglian trend, subordinated the bourgeois authorities, the state to the church, in short, he ruled like a tyrant.

His moral rigorism, his moral standards were extremely harsh, and he dealt with opponents in a similar way to Luther. The noble, intellectually independent Sebastian Castellio, the only scholar in Geneva who was his theological equal, whom no appointment, no benefice could bind, who had to leave the city because of him, who fell into poverty, into the worst hardship because of him, Castellio he reviled as a -chien-, a -bestia-. He still called the dead Albert Pighe, who disputed his predestination, a mad dog. He called other opponents snakes, angry beasts, gallows swallows, lunatics, and so on. And his dungeons were also full of newly invented instruments of torture.

However, most of the offenses punished were apparently not of a religious nature. At least the majority of those - 7

The crimes that were judicially sentenced, which an unusual document from the Geneva State Archives registers between February i y6z and February i 563, i.e. around a year before Calvin's death: Theft, extramarital sexual intercourse and violations of trade regulations; only three offenses relate to "heresy". 3 i people were banished from the town {which had just under zo ooo inhabitants) at the time, id sentenced to death.

Two decades earlier, between i y4 i and *i 5q6* y6 decrees of banishment and 58 death sentences had been imposed by Calvin's judiciary alone,

ten people were beheaded, i 3 channeled, 3s burned. Crimes of faith were persecuted particularly mercilessly. "Any doubt about the new doctrine was punished with exile, imprisonment or death - tKnöpfler).

And x y y 3 he even had Michael Servet (born i y i i i), the one-time co-reformer, theologian, natural philosopher and physician, burned at the stake for a doctrinal difference.*-

Servet, a Spaniard, son of deeply religious parents, brother of a priest, studied jurisprudence, theology, medicine and discovered {probably in Paris) the small circulation of the human blood, the circulation through the lungs. As a Catholic, however, he came into conflict with the Church. People on both sides of the Pyrenees are looking for him, he goes into hiding, assumes a new identity, is put on trial in Paris, his writings are confiscated and confiscated. In the end, it is not only Rome that is against him, but also the "Re-formation". He saw it as having come to a standstill - halfway through - as even Luther, Zwingli and Calvin did not seem revolutionary enough to him. In addition to his attacks on the feudal papacy, however, there is the far more dangerous criticism of the Trinity, which he also heretized to the Protestants and which, in De Trinitatis erroribus - fulminaiit, he formulated as "polytheism", -a three-headed Cerberus-, completely unbiblical.

With this -arian heresy- Michael Servet now also becomes the most prominent 5endling of Satan for the Protestants, a

-Jews, Turks, blasphemers. They want to see his entrails torn out of his living body from the pulpit. He is hunted, hounded like a wild animal. He changes names, masks, becomes a proofreader for a book printer, a taxidermist for

He was the personal physician of Archbishop Paulmier of Vienne, who, it is uncertain, even seems to have covered for him. In any case, he corresponded with Calvin, threw himself on his books, as the gentleman from Geneva did, and smeared them with insulting remarks like a dog biting and nibbling on a stone. Calvin calls Servet possessed by -sathan-, a pompous fool, a writer of brainwashing, to which he pays no more attention "than to the braying of a donkey- {le hin-han d'un ane).

In his main work "Christianismi restitutio", Ser- vet - whom **Calvin** slanders as a "cyclopean despiser of the Gospel", and of whom Zwingli claims that he "wants to dismiss our entire Christian religion" - pursues the restoration of Christianity, the original Christianity, the revival of the early church theology, which he believes was corrupted by Constantine and the Council of Nicaea. He is captured again, imprisoned and, after his escape, burned in absentia, -in effigie" {on a picture).

Whoever held his mighty hand protectively over Servet at the time, so that he managed to escape - it is clear who wanted to have him burned to death even then. It was Calvin's first attempt on his life, and this first attempt, as Stefan Zweig points out, was actually even more repugnant than the murder that followed, more repugnant because of the perfidy with which the reformer engineered it. After all, none other than he, the Protestant arch-heretic, *had* leaked highly incriminating material to the French Catholic Inquisition, which had his own preachers tortured and burned, Servet's letters, once sent privately, "sub sigillo secreti", to Calvin, as well as part of the manuscript of his work, an insidious com- ploy, which he later tried in vain to falsify, even deny. Servet made his way to Italy via Geneva of all places, the "Protestant Rome". And here Calvin, who himself had previously doubted the dogma of the Trinity, sought to destroy Servet, the anti-Trinitarian, this "indomitable man", by any means necessary. Moreover, the reformer had threatened that Servet would not leave the city alive if he came to Geneva.

And indeed, it was not the papal inquisition, but the Protestant Calvin who burned Servet, who was attending his church service in Geneva, at the stake; other Protestants examined and criticized this, Melanchthon congratulated him.'*.

In violation of the law of hospitality, of international law, without prior charge, without a court order, Servet is arrested by Calvin's henchmen as he leaves the church. In the dungeon, a damp, freezing cold hole, he lies tied hand and foot for weeks until his clothes rot on his body and he threatens to suffocate in his own excrement. - The fleas are eating me alive", he writes to the council and begs - "for the love of Christ" - for a remedy, which the council immediately orders, but fails to do so. And his pleading request to redden him with the sword was not fulfilled. On the contrary. The end is cruelly postponed in a rather Christian manner, the body is tied to a stake with an iron chain, one of his books is clamped under his arm, a thick rope is looped around his neck several times and very green wood, which is difficult to burn, is set alight to delay the agony. - As the flames burst from all sides, the martyred man lets out such a horrible scream that the people turn away for a moment, shuddering. Soon smoke and fire envelop the body reeling in agony, but incessantly and ever more piercingly the shrill cries of pain of the nameless sufferer can be heard from the fire slowly devouring the living flesh and finally the last fervent cry of distress: -'Jesus, son of the eternal God, have mercy on me!' This indescribably horrible agony lasts half an hour. Only then do the flames collapse, saturated, the smoke dissipates, and hanging from the blackened stake in the red-hot chain is a dwindling, smoking, charred mass, a ghastly gall that no longer resembles anything human."

On his deathbed, Calvin i5 6q in Geneva affirmed that he had never mentioned

The Reformed Church, the younger and more radical one, not only of

Calvin's direction of the Reformation did not actually want to be a new church, but rather to renew the whole church. It understood

The Church of St. John described itself as - the church reformed according to God's word, a church in constant need of reform {ecclesia reformata et semper reformanda). Its constitution was not episcopal, but presbyterial-synodal. The Bible was at the center, the mass was replaced by the sermon, the common priesthood of all believers was highly valued, in short, its principles were: solus Christus, sola scriptura, sola gratia, sola fide.

The Reformed type of church quickly became supra-regional. It initially led to mergers in the Swiss Confederation, to the "Gonsensus Tigurinus", to the Confessio Helvetica, to the Reformed Swiss national church, then penetrated the whole of Western Europe from Geneva, the stronghold, with missionaries specially trained at a university where Calvin also taught, in varying degrees and mixed forms, but also, with varying effects and durations; Eastern and Southern Europe and existed in a variety of theological traditions and schools forr, in the eighteenth century especially in the work of Karl Barth as well as in decisive political and scientific theories of modern times in general. In the eighteenth century, this was particularly evident in the **work of** Karl Barth and also in significant political and scientific theories of the modern era in general.

In the middle of the i6. The Zwinglians in Switzerland and the Bohemian Brethren in Poland joined in the middle of the sixth century. Calvinism spread to Hungary and Transylvania, where it opposed the Habsburgs, as well as to Scotland, where it was influenced by the "Con- session of faith", especially by John Knox, the eloquent panatic, and his successor Andrew Melville, and the Reformed predestination mania reached England and finally North America via the Puritans. From the mid-7th century, when Cape Town was founded, it even reached South Africa, where its apostles theologically justified and defended ap;trfheid.

has been. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, which was founded in London at75 • and today unites over two hundred churches, has therefore adopted the Dutch

Reformed Church suspended from full membership - but not until i q8z!

Calvinism reached France through Genevan theologians. And

this close connection between the Genevans and the French followers of the -so-called Reformed faith- is signaled by the common sporting name Hugenorten, -huguen-

auds" from "aignos", comrades. The movement, which was also widespread among high aristocrats, led to eight long and eventful years between i y6z and• 59 , which seriously shook the country and the monarchy.

the Huguenot Wars, with England fighting for the Huguenots and Spain against them (p. z3q ff.).

Calvinism jumped from France to Holland, where the Calvinist Church was established in i yS6, which merged with the Geusen, the national liberation campaign against Spain, against its monarchy and religious policy (one of the Geusen's battle **songs**, the -Wilhelmiis- song, is today's Dutch national anthem).

Due to the regiment of terror of the Spanish Duke Alba, who had already distinguished himself in the Schmalkaldic War and had been raging in the Netherlands on the orders of Philip II since i5 7 , too ooo re

The Walloon and Flemish refugees formed their own communities in England and Germany.

In the following years and decades, small parts of Germany also converted to Calvinism, w h i c h scholars like to call the Second Reformation. The Electoral Palatinate became the first center here, its bridgehead. Further congregations were established on the Rhine, in Lower Germany and East Frisia; Emden was virtually the -Cenf of the North-. Nassau, Bremen, Hesse-Kassel, Brandenburg and the Duchy of Berg became Calvinist, but Lippe and Anhalt were also among the areas where the Reformed denomination spread. However, the Liitherans themselves fought the "crypto-Calvinists" with the death penalty.

The extraordinary missionary vigor of Calvinism contributed significantly to its triumph and made it a significant, not only spiritual, but also political factor and thus a decisive opponent of Roman Catholicism. It was precisely the dynamic, militant-political character that Calvin himself possessed that also became a characteristic of Calvinism, the religion of a class in arms (A. L. Morron). It was associated with oppositional elements of the most diverse provenance, with the rebellious aristocrats of France, Scotland, Central and Eastern Europe as well as with the triumphant bourgeois rebels of

England or the Netherlands. Calvinism became the first world church of the Reformation (tKossok), a movement so powerful that it soon provoked a no less powerful counter-movement, the so-called Counter-Reformation.

CHAPTER 3

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION BEGINS THE COUNCIL OF TRIENT "SACROSANCTA TRIDENTINA SYNODUS" (545-z 63)

-The famous Council of Trent, the epitome of all that Rome possessed in terms of 'piety' and 'righteousness', was held at a time when thousands of witches were dying all over Europe. The sacred church assembly dealt with everything, for years it n e g o t i a t e d dogma, motal and discipline, but the venerable successors of the apostles had not a word of censure for the unheard-of atrocities that were perpetrated on the innocent almost under their very eyes ... while whole hecatombs of people - gons called pleasing 'burners. (hotocausta), as the papal inquisitors called them - were being slaughtered in **the** name of Christianity for t h e i r inhuman, anti-Christian and anti-human **delusions that** had become epidemic, while the 'council leaders', the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the priests, who were guided by the spirit of God, had neither eyes nor ears for this godlessness that cried out to heaven.

Count von Hoensbroech'

• The tensions came to a head in particular over the question of the bishops' right of residence in their territories. Ultimately, the fierce external dispute was about the right relationship between episcopal and papal authority ... The French prelates, led by the hard-headed and powerful 'Cardinal of Lorraine', finally openly advocated the 'conciliar theory' of the supremacy of the general council over the pope. In this climate, the mutual accusations and malicious intrigues increased with each passing day ... At times, a very strong anticu- rial opposition formed. Alongside the French bishoprics, the self-proclaimed Spaniards s t o o d u p for the restoration of the

of the old bishop's rights.

The fact that the serious crisis, aggravated by the deaths of the legates Gonzaga and Scripando, was finally overcome meant that the council was a peaceful and happy one.

This was due in particular to the skill of the new cardinal legate Giovanni Moront. Despite some rather oppressive episcopalian tendencies at times, the Pope was able to remain in control of the Council at all times." Franz Xaver 5eppclfCtorg Schwaigtr-

Since the Reformation, Catholicism had been largely on the ground, and no one had brought it there more than he himself. Not even Ludwig von Pastor, the defender of the popes who tried so hard, could ignore the "whole series of abuses, the abuses at the Roman court, the screaming abuses in the benefice system". The south of Europe, Italy and Spain remained almost entirely Catholic. In Central Europe, only Bavaria was still a stronghold of the Popes at the time of Luther's death, but beyond that most of Germany was captured by the Reformation doctrine. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Baltic countries and Poland were also lost, while Calvinism spread to France, England, Scotland and the Netherlands.

The Renaissance popes were unmistakably more concerned with They were more concerned with their own power-political interests in Italy than with the con- sequent fight against the Protestants in Germany, the resotute overcoming of the Reformation, whereby they caused irreparable damage to Catholicism.

Even after Luther's death, Julius III (i o-i 555), even though he promoted the Jesuits and ecclesiastical reform, led the life of a typical Renaissance pope (VIII Ryo ff.) - a pontificate spiced with garlic and giant onions (Gaeta's own favorite food), with nepotism, a time-consuming war against Duke Octavio Farnese, that -elusive worm-, the grandson of his predecessor Paul III. (VIII d¢3 ff.) as well as with incessant festivities, court jesters, games and carnivals, daring theatrical performances, bullfights, hunts and other spiritual pleasures.

What does it mean, can it not be proven that he adopted his amorous fifteen-year-old monkey, who was pulled out of the gutter by his brother, only because of his favors?

ligen Hinterns already me i7 years "with the greatest satisfaction- {v. Pastor) to Cardinal and even entrusted me with the Secretariat of State, even if he was perhaps only signing dispatches and collected high salaries. Just as the Pope made two young relatives cardinals.

After all, the pleasure-loving sanguine, to whom Palestrina dedicated the first volume of his masses, answered protests from the Sacred College {which elected him only after a ten-week conclave, more than sixty ballots and the end of pay for the protection troops) with the splendid reply: - What did you find special about me?" All in all, a kind of last pagan Renaissance performance in a curial setting, although it is not quite clear whether Christ's representative died of starvation {because of his gout) or debauchery.*

However,5 Julius III sometimes also stood his ground in the service of the Church.

In the conclave, he had already pledged to resume the council, reform the church and eradicate "heresy". And when, soon afterwards, the French monarch Henry II had Bolognese territory devastated, Julius summoned him threateningly before the judgment seat of God on July zi. July i 5 $i before the judgment seat of God. The king then had the papal nuncio Antonio Trivulzio expelled from court, but was prepared to appear before God's judgment seat, as he was certain that he would not meet the pope there, the worst and most ungrateful man, as he said.

As Cardinal Giovanni Maria Giocchi del Monte, Julius III had opened the Council of Trent, then one of its co-chairs, the event that actually marked the beginning of the Counter-Reform.

mation (VIII 44S f.). In the same year Calvin hurled a vehement pamphlet against Paul III. In the same year Luthers last book against the Catholic Church -Wider das Papst- tum in Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet-, according to his enemies, as well as Lucas Cranach's mocking paintings to it, with morbid, almost unjustifiable

The reformer called it -my testament-. He hardly finds an end to scolding the pope -see. Hellish-ness", the -devil's apostle-, -juggler-, -spitzbu- be-, -farce-, -pope's donkey-, -sodomite pope- and others and recommends that his cardinals and other rabble -as blasphemers -have their tongues ripped out the back of their necks and be "nailed to the gallows" ...'

OLDER REFORM APPROACHES

The Council of Trent, long *desired* and striven for by the emperor, was thwarted by the popes for fear that it might violate their gravamina, curtail their privileges or even, as in Constance and Basel, place itself above the papacy, the Corizil was to restore Catholicism, to strengthen its resistance against the imprisoned Protestants, on the one hand by clarifying its own positions, by formulating dogmas, by differentiating itself from Reformation teachings, and on the other hand by eliminating ecclesiastical minorities.*

Reform does not always, but usually presupposes mis- stances, corruption, decay, and so in Christendom, in parts of Christendom, there had long been more or less strong approaches to improvement, whatever one understood by that, the Carolingian, the Cluniac, the Gregorian reform. From the High Middle Ages onwards, there were also reform efforts by the laity, the poverty movements, the Waldensians, Humilians, Catholics, who wanted to live and teach evangelically, were sometimes integrated, sometimes severely persecuted, as were outstanding individuals here and there throughout Europe, such as Hus (VItI7 1. Wycliff{VIII Reg.), Savonarola (VIII333 ff.) in the late Middle Ages. With the **always** the more obvious decline of Catholicism, the church became
While reform was a frequent topic in the past, spontaneous attempts at innovation by mavericks or guided institutional reforms were increasingly common.

lffl I§. century, a series of so-called reform councils met in Pisa, Constance, Pavia-Siena and Basel. ln the i6th century, the number of voices calling for religious and moral renewal increased in Italy. In the sixth century, there was a growing number of voices calling for religious and moral renewal, including the admittedly very diverse groupings of evangelism in Italy. Naturally, they were supported by the Roman
Inquisition, especially since its reorganization i¡4 -, was systematically condemned and persecuted for being too pro-testant, including
The purple bearers are excellent, often referred to as "spirituals".

Prominent friends of reform gathered around the Englishman Reginald Pole.

The cardinal, related to King Henry VIII, later completed the reaffiliation of the British Church to Rome and became Archbishop of Canterbury. Already a very promising candidate in the papal election of s49 <*", who only needed a single vote and had already drafted his acceptance speech, Cardinal Giampie- tro Carafa, himself a reformer, had brought him down with accusations of heresy. And when Carafa ascended to the **papacy** as Paul IV {iyyy-i Jq), which he regarded as God's infallible work, Pole, summoned to Rome, only escaped an inquisition trial because he died. Cardinal Giovanni Moronc, twice pa- pabile in the conclave and also a true -Riformatore-, was also the subject of extensive inquisition proceedings by Paul IV on suspicion of heresy.
the cardinal himself was imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo from5J7 to i5yq and was only rehabilitated by the next pope.

Of course, the call for reform, especially for a conciliar church reform, had been growing louder and louder since the beginning of the Reformation. At the Nuremberg Imperial Diet I §Zzfi 5z3, all the imperial estates called for a free council on German soil. And then the Protestant estates in particular repeatedly demanded "a common free Christian council in German lands"; this was also the case at the Imperial Diets in Speyer and Augsburg. But they failed "above all", emphasizes the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,
-on the fear of the Pope ... -

i 53o, Clement VII, this shifty, devious pontiff (V435), promised to convene a council, but did everything to prevent it. i

y36 Paul III convened a council in

Mantua on &n z3. March i53 d, but it failed due to the rejection of France and the Schmalkaldenep who, on Luther's advice
returned the papal invitation unopened. Relocated to Vicenza, the project finally had to be suspended by Pope Paul in September• s4s due to a lack of participants.
before his death. the situation was similar with an is4* >aCh Tri-
The French Church Conference was convened at the end of the 19th century, when the King of France, in league with the Turks who were devastating Italy's coast, once again launched a war, the *v'ien'n,* against the Emperor and forbade the French clergy to attend the Council under threat of imprisonment.

The mockery and invective of the Lutherans increased. At times, **Paul III** even considered forming a coalition with the -unbelievers- in Algiers or with the Sultan. Even Ludwig von Pastor had to concede this - along with other -major weaknesses- of the pope, of course, from his enormous fondness for his clan, including at least four of his own children who had already been conceived earlier with a Roman mistress {VIII 443), to his passion for astrology, for example, in which the Holy Father believed as much as in the Holy Trinity, indeed, who knows, perhaps even more. At the very least, he had the best hour determined by astrologers for each of his projects that were even halfway relevant and showered the most famous of them at the time, the astrologer Luca Gaurico, who twice predicted that he would win the tiara, with honors. But be that as it may: after writing 677 pages about Paul III, the defender of the popes can close the chapter with the sentence: -The great arch- statue of Paul III is full of dignity and majesty.'"

There were always reasons to block a large church assembly. Sometimes the Protestants, whom the emperor could not do without, even wanted to give them new religious regulations at times without consulting the Pope {as he occasionally tried to reform the Catholic clergy on his own), blocked it. Then Francis t of France sabotaged the matter. Then his son and successor Henry II, a strict Catholic, who persecuted the Protestants in France and joined forces with the Protestants in Germany.

connected. Henry VIII also caused serious difficulties,
Head of the British Church, whose daughter Mary I Tudor
{the Catholic) made England temporarily Catholic again and burned more than three hundred prominent Protestants on the pyre; since then adorned with the nickname "Bloody Mary".

And last but not least, Rome had reason to fear a council and reforms. It therefore resisted every attempt at change by the church people "with teeth and claws" and sought to "bring down reforms on a large and small scale through feints, delays or intrigues" (H. Schilling). And apparently the Bishop of Bitonto, Cornelio Musso, also knew why he emphasized in his inaugural sermon that the moral dignity of the clergy was not important. Otherwise, the famous council, which proclaimed itself to be the "most holy, icumenical, universal synod, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit", would hardly have been able to convene.

P nsEx DEs KoxZILS

This finally happened after many previous and accompanying fasts, processions, prayers of supplication all over the world, after various perfect proclamations, after masses, Ambrosian and other hymns of praise on December 13th in the small cathedral city of Trent. And, of course, all the solemn displays of piety were not only for the glorification of God, but also for the eradication of false doctrines and the defeat of the enemies of the Christian faith. According to the Lexicon of Theology and the Church, the whole elaborate church scenario was "integrated into a grandiose imperial-papal program of warlike subjugation and repulsion of the Protestants".

Only when Paul 111. with the glasses - "Laetare Jerusalem"
(Frohlockc, Jerusalem)•5‹4 convened the Council, it found, if

also in three stages determined by international policy

Stlttt, BEFORE1545 to i 5q y (without reformers) initially in Trento, in Italian, but still on German imperial soil; then since

i i. and ix. March' 547 - with the majority - in Bologna, i.e. within the Papal States, in the unmitigatedÍ papal sphere of influence, which is why Charles V repeatedly lodged a solemn protest against itø, the Council was held in Bologna.

and was suspended by Paul in September• i4s .

The second period of the Council began in May i yr, this time, however, against French protest and without the French episcopate, but, since October, in the presence of Protestants who, in remembrance of Husen's terrible fate in Constance (let us remember: this gentleman before a college of judges of such fools and scoundrels! - Friedrich Pzillas, cf. VIII iq8 If.), had free freedom guaranteed by the Emperor and the Council. Their conditions - release of the council members from obedience to the pope, revocation and reconsideration of all previous resolutions, renewal of the Council's sovereignty over the pope decreed in Constance, etc. - were in part so radical that Julius III forbade their deliberations. Yet the holy fathers had promised that they would "deliberate, propose and negotiate with all freedom on those things which are to be negotiated in this ecclesiastical council, and come to this ecumenical council freely and safely, and remain and dwell there, and to present and propose as many articles as they please, both in writing and orally, and to discuss them with the fathers or those chosen by the holy church council itself, and to discuss them without all reproaches and reproaches, as well as, if they like it, they can and may go away again." However, when the German princely rebellion broke out in February i 5 5z, in March Mořitz of Saxony approached Innsbruck and the emperor was too weak to stop him, the council was dispersed.

Only after a ten-year break between sessions, during which the global political situation changed to the detriment of Charles V, did they meet again in Trent from i 56a bİS i §ö3 itbschliessend, this time without

Protestants, none of whom came, but with the active participation of the French episcopate, which was troubled by the Calvinists advancing in France. And if, according to a statement by Pius IV, who now reigned and convened the council, the disease in France and Germany could not be cured, then care must be taken to "protect those in Italy and Spain who are still healthy from infection", whereby it was debated whether this was a new council or merely a continuation of the previous one.

In any case, the dispute did not subside, neither within nor outside the Council, which dragged on for almost twenty years, longer and with greater complications than any before it.

From the very beginning, there was a struggle over the venue. There were serious tensions between the emperor and the pope, which spilled over to the respective parties to the council, the assembly split, was dissolved twice, moved to Bologna to remove it from the influence of Charles V, and then moved back to Trent. The Council saw **five** popes and two emperors on the throne and in the meantime heard more or less alarming reports from theaters of war: Charles V fighting victor-

empire against the Protestants in the Schmalkaldic War i y4 6/i 5§7 (supported by the Pope with xz$_Z$ oo troops and soo ooo du- cates of subsidies). i 55x to x 55ö the ruler fought in vain

Henry II, France's Catholic king, who retains Metz, Toul, Ver- dun and Ca i b r 8 i , conceded to him by the treacherous Elector Moritz of Saxony. And Charles suffers a defeat at the hands of the rebellious German princes and finally ab**dicates.**

The meeting was initially sparsely attended. Of the bishops from Germany, only Michael Holding, the suffragan bishop of Mainz, appeared at first, and he soon left again. The other high-ranking German clergymen sought to protect their precious chairs and bishoprics at home from greedy Protestant princes, not to mention the numerous prelates who had been ordained neither priest nor bishop and were therefore ill-suited to a reform council. It was only in the second session, when the number of participants began to increase anyway, that the

German bishops, including the three most noble ecclesiastical electors of the Rhine, the prelates of Mainz, Cologne and Trier.

Of course, the Xoncil was also divided within itself, above all into an imperial and a papal faction, a bishop's party and a curia party. Indeed, even the pope's lieutenants sometimes trusted in opposing interests, reconciliation with the Protestants or their unification. 5o **Pius** IV reminded them in a letter of i r. May i J6z reminded them -that you are united legates who must proceed in full harmony instead of causing offense through dissension.- And of course there was only limited freedom of debate, the agenda had been drawn up by -congregations- in Rome under the supervision of the pope, and of course the latter supervised the council just as strictly as the emperor, who usually resided in Innsbruck, only a short day's ride from Trent, at the time of the sessions.'°

There were repeated intrigues, serious crises, spectacular disputes and frequent interference from outside, sometimes from the French king, sometimes from the emperor. It was sometimes difficult to restore calm in the Council. The local bishop of Trent, Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, accused the council president del Monte not only of unchristian behavior, but even of his non-noble origins. This led to rank disputes between numerous envoys, such as the French and Spanish ambassadors

» • J ni 1563, WHERE the Frenchman made the most violent accusations against the Pope, accusing him of unlawful election, simony and threatening to appeal to the Council. The venerable fathers themselves clashed violently, and the clash

or the terrible dispute between three cardinals, which the Archbishop of Palermo asked to end on his knees in tears. One Curia party member accused the Iberian prelates of living with concubines and children, while a Spanish bishop accused the curials of blasphemy. On one occasion, the bishops Sanfelice of La Cava and Dionys of Chiron quarrelled to such an extent that one cut off a tuft of the other's beard. It was no coincidence that the emperor threatened to take too heated a beard.

to be thrown into the Adige to cool off. A clash between the Italian and Spanish bishops' domestics took place during the final phase of the pious gathering, resulting in casualties and deaths.

Already in the second session, on7 **January** i 54 6, Cardinal Pole issued an urgent exhortation - "ad patres concilii"
which invoked not only ecclesiastical corruption, but also all passions that darken the mind, in order - while defending worldly interests - never to "lose sight of the holy cause of God" - which was and is no less bad, but rather worse.

EiNFLUS S **OF THE JESUITES**

The Pope's legates, the Cardiniile del Monte (later **Pope** Julius III), Gervini (later Pope Marcellus II) and the Briton Reginald Pole, presided over the first period of the church assembly. For all the more important negotiations, they obtained instructions directly from Rome. Just one day after the opening of the Council, they requested "further instructions" from there. And then, at least temporarily, at least under Pius IV, letters and reports from Trent arrived in Rome every week, often several in one day, with the pope deciding the answers himself, but leaving the execution to the secretary of state. The third person of the deity, a Gallic delegate mocked, regularly used the courier bag to travel from Rome to Trent. Voting was also by chapels, and the bishops, the generals of religious orders and some of the abbots were entitled to vote.

The Jesuits had a particular influence on the Council, as did the "Holy Father's Janissaries", who were the most undaunted advocates of curial policy at the time of the Counter-Reformation. In Trent
The Jesuits Alfonso Salmerón and Diego Laynez, the latter Vicar General and (second) General of the Order after the death of Ignatius of Loyola. And

It was precisely Laynez, who was highly praised by the legates, who repeatedly and vigorously defended the so-called rights of the Holy See, even in the Schlufi session of June 6, i n s i s t i n g above all with the utmost determination that the Pope could not be reformed by the Council, but that the reform of his court was best carried out by himself. Reforrnation, said Laynez in this context, was a return to the old!

Ranke calls the two theologians - scholarly, strong, in bloom of their years, full of zeal - and adds that Ignatius had instructed them - never to support an opinion that in the least approached an innovation. Present at all sessions of the Council, they strictly followed this instruction, which in particular prevented certain approaches to the Reformers, but also all Gallican intentions to establish conciliar supremacy over the 'pope. -Thanks to their incomparable knowledge, the Jesuits soon dominated all debates, and under their unshakeable orthodoxy, the Council found itself in the waters of a declaration of war against the Protestants, and refrained from seeking the path to reconciliation a n d church unity.)

The instruction that Ignatius of Loyola gave them when they were summoned to the Council in the capacity of papal theologians shows how carefully and cunningly the two patrcs had to proceed in Trent: -Just as much can be gained for the salvation and spiritual progress of the souls through communication and conversation with divine help, so conversely, if we do not take care of ourselves and God does not help us, much will be lost for us and sometimes for both parties. We must not withdraw from such contact and intercourse in accordance with our profession, but the better we have provided for ourselves and the more we have regulated ourselves by prior agreement, the calmer we will be i n o u r hearts.

Here are some points to watch out for or avoid should be of use to us.

I would be restrained, deliberate and mild in my speech, especially with regard to the definition of sentences that are or can be negotiated at the Council.

The good thing about this restraint and reverence i s that you can

listen quietly to the others and in this way get to know their views, opinions and wishes and see whether it is better to answer or remain silent.

However, if you speak on a question, you must give the reasons for both views so that the listener recognizes t h a t you are not hanging on your own judgment. In this way, you do not offend either party.

I would not refer to individual persons as witnesses (no traeria por autores personas algunas), especially if they are high-ranking ones, unless it is a matter that has already been much considered (mi- radas).

If you are forced to give your opinion on a matter, do so with the greatest possible calm and humility and with the addition: Salvo meliori judico {without prejudice to a better judgment). Prepare for the speech carefully, without sparing time and effort. One must sacrifice one's comfort and prepare oneself

customize

While the first two periods of the reign were characterized by the Habsburg's supremacy, the global political situation subsequently changed to his disadvantage. And even at the beginning, two important expectations of the monarch failed: he wanted to restore the religious unity of the empire, therefore did not want to irritate the Protestants for the time being and wanted to avoid discussing dogmatic issues at all costs. However, the Protestants did not take part in Trent, nor were the reform problems, the fight against ecclesiastical abuses, given priority over questions of faith and dogmatic definitions. Rather, the two com- plexes, the Decreta de reformatione and the Decreta de fide, were dealt with in parallel, despite Paul III's approval, and continued to do so during all sessions.

Although it is often emphasized that the Council was not only a reaction to the challenge of the Reformation, the split in faith, but also a search for one's own theological identity, and that old internal uncertainties, fluctuations in doctrine and customs of faith h a d already been partially discussed and more or less resolved, the main conciliar impetus was of course aimed at

on Protestantism, it was not only a matter of strict demarcation against evil, but also of its disempowerment, the eradication of heresies.

Already at the convocation of the Council on March 5 - i4J¸ Paul Ilt. in his bull -Laetare Jerusalem- described the main task of the assembly as the elimination of religious division, the reform of the Church and the liberation of those dominated by the unbelievers. Christians. And for the papacy, emphasized Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "the first goal was the most important." This is why the two early council periods also focused on Germany, and the final stage on France. If the continuation of the Council from i 56 z to *i S 63* might not have taken place at all without the rapid progress of Calvinism in France, this at least favored the resumption of the sessions. In addition, the discussion of the dogmatic texts "was entirely geared towards the debate with the Reformers, and formulations were avoided, for example on concupiscentia, simply because they were too close to the Protestant ones.

Now, many points of contention had certainly been discussed early on; in some cases for centuries, occasionally more or less, the doctrine of purgatory, images, relics, saints, feast and fast days, indulgences, which, by the way, were still declared permissible and salutary in the Decree on Indulgences, even if the associated greed for profit was forbidden. The decisive, literally overturning attention, however, with the following re-generation of Catholica, all of this, certainly very much against Luther's will, only came about through the Reformation, and it is difficult to imagine that even without its pressure, a corresponding treatment would have come about at a major council.

Especially since the most necessary reform, that of the papacy and the Curia, its organization, authorities, institutions, commissions, competences, was omitted, even if individual practices were discussed. The famous Tridentinum, the entire work of reform, was left out! Thus Pope Pius IV was able on December 3o.

f 4 > -in a lengthy speech in the Consistory, thanked the Council fathers precisely for the fact that in their reform decrees - so

proved to be mafia-like and indulgent towards the Curia". Even according to the conservative Catholic church historian Hubert jedin, they fell far short of the objectives ... even the leaders of the Catholic reform movement of the century ... - In particular, the - Gallican- question of whether the pope was subject to a general council (cf. VIII Z2.3 f.) was as little decided at the conferences for fear of the precarious religious situation in France, for fear of a schism, as it was at the time of Louis XIV and Joseph II.

Otherwise, however, the church assembly branded all the main doctrines of Protestantism as heretical. *It declared* the perhaps most important dogmatic decree, the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, i.e. faith without works, which was set out in great detail in 6 chapters and 3 canons, to be "dead and void" and, in sharp opposition to Luther, set against it the "Gooperatio hominis cum deo", the proof of faith in works of charity (fides operans per caritatem), which was prompted by the Jesuit Laynez sent by the Pope. Thus, emphasized Bishop Benedetto de' Nobili of Accia, "the axe was laid at the root o f Lutheran doctrine".

The Council rejected the lay chalice, the lay priesthood and priestly marriage and threatened the priesthood with severe penalties. It rejected the sola scriptura principle and adhered to the Latin biblical text of the Vulgate as the only permissible one for theological and ecclesiastical use, to the equal status of Holy Scripture (whose interpretation naturally belongs to the Church alone) and Tradition, as well as to the number seven of the sacraments, the ancient doctrine of transubstantiation, the re-presence of C h r i s t in the Eucharist and the sacramentality of priestly ordination, while the church ministers appointed by the people or the state were rejected.
• *Robbers, not* called *hags.*"

And even if there were still enough weaknesses, half-heartedness and questionable compromises, the Tridentinum had an eminent significance for the regeneration of Catholicism that extended far beyond the century. It acquired many of the modern traits that had been alien to it before the Reformation (Hinrichs),

above all its consistent centralist orientation towards Rome. Indeed, with its decrees on faith and reform, the Council has shaped the foundations of the papal church to this day and was less of a conclusion than a departure, although it followed a long-established, age-old line: the fight against every enemy. Even if the main goal, the unity of faith, had not been achieved, they went beyond the defense of what remained to regain lost territories.

At the very beginning of the Council, when Charles de Guise, Archbishop of Reims and Cardinal of Lorraine, made the grotesque assertion after the Council had adjourned: - This is the faith of St. Peter and the apostles - when he still invoked Jesus Christ, God, the Mother of God, all the saints, the Council Fathers cursed all heretics", they shouted: -Anathema to all false doctrines, anathema!" And Martin Chemnitz, the Brunswick superintendent, one of the army of Lutherans, soon afterwards, in his four-part "Investigation of the Council of Trent", scolded it for what it was, "unfree and papist". Of course, it did not have a great influence on the progress of the Reformation, but it undoubtedly strengthened the papacy. Without question, it was also the most important general council of all, and after all, it took three hundred years until the next general council, the First Vatican Council, which added its infallibility to the power of the popes.

has added.*7

The Tridentine Resolutions, the official printed edition of which appeared in Mainz i y6d and whose right to issue was reserved for the Roman See alone for all future, were signed by 6

Cardinals,3 patriarchs, i g3 archbishops and bishops.7 ,7 generals and 3q procurators of absentees. And most princes and countries accepted it without further ado, Emperor Fer- dinand, Poland, Portugal, Savoy and the Italian states; Philip II of Spain, however, only with the clause - without prejudice to royal rights -, and in Germany, the emperor who was strongly attached to the protectorate.

stantism, Emperor Maximilian II and the Catholic estates with regard t o religious decisions and worship.

But the most important thing, for the sake of which the Council was initially

The goal that was started in the first place was not achieved, has not been achieved to this day and will hardly be achieved as long as both denominations are not on the verge of collapse: unity of faith. Yet remarkably, Pope John Paul II. - But remarkably, Pope John Paul II, like none of his predecessors, found words of recognition, indeed of willingness to learn, for Luther and Reformation theology on various occasions, which give good reason to hope for further progress in overcoming old differences.- For the time being, however, the division was complete, and the intolerance of both Christian churches became greater and greater, in which the Jesuits, who had already played a corresponding role during the Council, played a special part.

4- CHAPTER

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (*49 I y y 6) A WEALTHY VISIONARY MAKES WORLD POLITICS

-&who does not puff well in this world, does not puff well i n society {}csu)-.
Ignatius of Loyola'

• fgiiaiias *was a soldier and remained a soldier, later as a priest,* /es-ii, *general.* Every inch of ihirl iet soldierly. -Only a soldier could so masterfully transfer the strategic strategy of the Church to the spiritual realm ... His whole asceticism is geared towards battle: against himself - the world - Saian, he wants to form soldiers in the army of Christ ... Soldierly is his *foundation* -
Anton Huonder SJ'

• Ignatius works in silence and in secret. He is not a revolutionary. He is like a general. He devises the battle plan and oversees its execution; he trains the army, he leads the battle, and he ensures victory. But He is not the one at the front, but the Lord. i'
Friedrich Richter'

-... the youngest crusader, with a strong will to the past ... a general **without an army;** Oon Quixote, who will not become a poet, but a dictator - at the end of a pure life, the general proves once again that he, a holy man, has served Satan in all innocence, with worship-worthy strength: to wait f o r the God who makes lords grow. Loyola's star w a s not the rebel of Jerusalem, not the Miiriyr of Golgnths, but the great ally of those **stories to whom the earth belongs.** If what makes a hero is that he remains faithful to a role model, then Loyola was a hero. As a hero, he served the eternally unheroic: violence. As a holy leader, he led his holy employees into battle: for the unholy.

Not slaves, but idea-b¢sccscne, not rogues, but saints are the best soldiers for the most wicked war aims.
Ludwig Marcuse-

-If anyone was an African mystic and pathological hysteric, it was the pious knight of the Basque country. -
Count Paul von Hoensbrotch'

-WAR SERVICE **FOR** GOD"

lñigo López de Oñaz y Loyola, who later called himself **Ignatius**, was born i Sq i in Spain, one **year** before the great Jewish occupation there, one year before the final defeat of the Moors, one year before the accession of AÍezander VI and before the discovery of America. Ignatius was the thirteenth child of a noble family that had been documented since i8o. After the early death of his mother, the youngest Loyola grew up with a nurse; of his seven brothers, two died in battles in Lower Italy, a third perished in the Turkish wars and a fourth died in the Conquista on American soil.

The Loyola {that means -swampy Orr-1 had two high-rise They had wolves in their coat of arms and were one of the most disreputable clans in the Basque Country. Even though very few of them could read and write, they unscrupulously signed declarations of war like this one, such as the saint's grandfather (banished to Andalusia for four years by the sovereign t o the Moorish front): - We will beat and kill you after the expiration of the Tetrtiin, we will do you all harm as enemies of the king, we will let your blood flow until cure souls leave your body, we will do you all the evil harm we can.-'

Ignatius, tonsured at an early age but not a KÍeríker, absorbs the norms and practices of the chivalric world, especially its warlike spirit, with his mother's milk. The hidalgo becomes a courtier, fashion-conscious from his hairstyle to his fingernails, to his oh-so-chic officer's boots, an avid reader, even def with gallant

adventures and f e a t s of arms. Of course, his favorite thing to do is to wield a sword and lance himself, he even confesses,
until he was a6. to "indulge in earthly vanity" until the age of
calls the practice of arms his "greatest pleasure", fame and honor through them his "greatest desire" (and after a theft as a young nobleman starts to punish another).

Ignatius also paid homage to the vice of the flesh. Thus writes Juan de Polanco, his secretary: -Although he was devoted to the faith, up to this time he did not live according to it at all, nor did he guard against sins, rather he was particularly tempestuous in games and in women's affairs, in profligacies and in the dogs of arms .... Loyola's autobiography, however, usually called the Pilgrim's Account, contains only one sentence about his childhood and youth; a detailed first part was probably purged by the author. But recently even Jesuits have admitted that Ignatius
-a daughter hatre- {Dantscher), "that he was the father of a Maria de Loyola in Arévalo" (Kiechle).

Like many of his peers, whose code of honor was so different from their teachings, Ignatius also got into riots and outrages and was dragged *into* court together with his brother, the priest Pe dro (Pero), the quarrelsome father of several illegitimate children, for - great and significant offenses" (delictos calificados e muy henormes - delicta varia et diversa ac enormia), committed by the friars in a scheming and deceitful manner, as fragmentary court records (the earliest surviving documents about the saint) reveal, although we never learn what it was really about**.** And even if he had never been seen "in clerical garb", he now escaped the secular arm as a "cleric"; the bishop's court in Pamplona, always lenient towards the excesses of young knights, covered up the trial, which was only rediscovered in the second century. Century has been rediscovered.

• Pious and noble," assures one source, he was **told.**

g'---'

Barely two years later, he becomes an officer in the bodyguard of the
Duke Don Antonio Manrique de Najera, recently Viceroy of the disputed Spanish-French border province

Navarre, and fights in the brutal suppression of the Comu- neros uprising i yzo as well as **against** the French the following year. He enforces the defense of the fortress of Pamplona - "the greatest event" for him "that centuries have seen", in reality a hopeless resistance - against the opinion of all the knights. But a cannonball shreds his right leg, severely injures his left and abruptly destroys all his career and minstrel dreams, turning him into a limping cripple.

Nevertheless, the mighty ambitious man does not give up. He only changes fronts according to the motto "Only the fools are serious" and replaces one ideal with another. He swaps the sword for the cross, hidalgo pride for asceticism. The female king is replaced by the divine one, the queen of heaven by earthly fraternal favor. And he would almost have stabbed a Morisco, a bought Arab, who doubted Mary's constant virginity, with a few pious thrusts of his dagger.

Instead of chivalric novels, Loyola now reads edification books that

• Vita Christi" by Ludolph of Saxony, the "Legenda aurea" by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, religious bestsellers of the late Middle Ages. From then on, every saint was given an aristocratic glamour, everything sacred was heroized and became -alternative chivalry-. In a naïve addiction to identification, he himself wants to become a hero of faith, like Francis of Assisi, like Dominic, wants to fight as a miles Christi under his -eternally victorious barrier, military service, as he once characterized it, -war service for God-.

Ignatius, in colossal mood swings, ruined himself through excessive mortification, fasting, attempted suicide, used the most terrible instruments of mortification, wore an undergarment studded with iron thorns and prayed on his knees for seven hours a day. And he also gives up extreme pain as excessive, too time-consuming, distracting from more useful things - in his famous "Spiritual Exercises", he also recommends "chastisements of the flesh" to the point of blood.

For a long time, it was of great, even supreme importance to him (and still is today).

The knight of Gones cries like an imbecile - to put it more professionally: he possesses the gift of tears. Or as the Duke of Gandia Francisco de Borja (Borgia), great-grandson of Alexander VI and third General of the Order, writes somewhat floridly on the death of Ignatius that he "went home to the joyful harvest which he sowed in unceasing tears": "In fact, the Most Gracious, this saint - of the greatest, indeed of the most wondrous stature" (Erb), weeps so often and intensely that one fears {even he himself) for his eyesight, his health, for his l i f e .

"THE SPIRITUAL DIARY- OR SAR IGNATIUS Vox LovoLz TRAVELLED?

Recorded between a. February r yqq and the -7- February 545. The issue is, among other things, a kind of "authorization" of the statutes of the Society of Jesus, initially above all the question of the seat and income. Ignatius, since i q i the first General of the Order, had drafted the statutes and was now persistently seeking the approval of the Divine Majesty Himself.

Not an easy undertaking, especially as there used to be a certain -bitterness-, -distrust-, -discord-. Fortunately, there are other prominent figures in heaven, such as the Most Holy Trinity, who sometimes appears to the saint in a spherical form, somewhat larger than the 5onne, but who does not always inspire confidence in him, sometimes even displeasure. But then he does not confer with her, with La Sanctissima Trinidad, but with the masters separately. The multiple -spherical vision- of March 6th shows vividly, -without-, Ignatius emphasizes, -stepping out of the spherical vision-, that they come out after all: -on one side the Father, on another the Son, and on another the Holy Spirit .... . -.

The third person, who was born on z i. February 544 - in the color ei-

ner fiery flame" with the author -a "dialog" {colo- quio), the Holy Spirit, only shows himself here and there, but he always comes to kurx in the Christian church. But the Father grants Ignatius "great closeness and security", -much access-. And for Jesus, the head of society, the chosen "leader", Loyola would rather die ... than to live with another."

GewiS, even Jesus, sometimes "present in white color", occasionally becomes -somehow only darkly" visible or even less so. Just as Mary, the mother of Herm, always called -Mistress - {Seño- ra) hides herself one day from Ignatius, who now suffers in such a way that it even moves the often so strict Heavenly Father and the

• signs"-he would like it if he were asked by our mistress; but I could not see them."

However, when Ignatius recited his drama of tears during the Mass and lost his speech again and again, the Domi- na condescended graciously, the devotee came to "feel and see our Lady" and was so "very inclined" towards him, that now, especially at the consecration, he "could not but feel or see her, as one who is the co-cause or gateway (for what I felt so much) for so great a grace that I felt in spirit . .. At the consecration, she shows that her flesh is in that of her Son - and can this, perhaps, only with caution and consideration, be enjoyed together with this, to put it in a vuÍgardly way - be consumed? Ignatius immediately speaks of

-Such great insights that one could not write it.

Like Mary and her son, who are sometimes implored in long conversations, his best mîtrlee, the most prominent beneficiaries, are at the highest level, where the celebrated strategist operates in an adept manner, first asking the mother to help him with the son, for example, and then asking the son to help him with the father together with the mother. And if he also needs intercessors with Mary and Jesus, he does so, because he likes to go all out,

-The angels, the holy fathers, the apostles and disciples and all the saints, *etc."*

Gotr, such a life rubs against, also irritates the reader. For example, when he reads under the }. March: the larger home

Ignatius's teachings referred - to the Most Holy Trinity and less to Jesus and much less to the Father - because it is thought that these two also belong to the Most Holy Trinity. Or not? Or one learns that the Son of God reveals himself to Ignatius - at the feet of the Most Holy Trinity - so probably at the feet of himself. And how curious that the ascetic in Manresa prays month after month and day after day to each of the three persons and to the Trinity in addition, until he realizes that he is addressing four prayers to the Trinity, although the three are only my one God (vn solo Dios mio)-.

Yes, difficulties, scruples day and night. And always fear,

-I could be wrong about something.- In the case of the Trinity, for example, when he decides to read six or more masses in a row ... and then considers "three more Masses in thanksgiving", but suddenly considers this to be the work of the devil and reads none at all - and

-I grew very much in love for God; and with so many tears and so much sobbing and strength."

On some days he has "no insights or different visions of the three persons - but on other days he can see the different persons". Sometimes he feels

•something in the father, as if the others were in him", and then - everything transforms into the Most Holy Trinity-. Or he hobbles through the city, and the Most Holy Trinity is always before my eyes, at least whenever I see three minds or three animals or three other things.

Think: he saw three donkeys ... .

The quickest way for him to deal with the devil is not by throwing an inkwell at him in the plebeian vulgarity of the Wittenberger. No, he coolly orders him, - "a defeated creature ..." immediately: "To your place!" And the matter is settled.

But things are different with heavenly spirits. For with all the "grace", all the "gracefulness", "great gracefulness", with all the - taste - also: -good-taste", "great good-taste- -, which the contact with the upper-earthly gives him a hundred times and more (- and I embraced myself with inner rejoicing in the soul-: abraçándome con interior regozijo en el anima) - it

is not all honey licks, no. It happens that he has to
• no longer has any taste -for the matter, for the whole of heaven; not even for its superstars, neither for -the mid- lifers- nor for -the divine persons-, so that it rather seems to him "as if I had never felt anything of them or should never feel it again in the future, but rather that I have felt gratitude, now against (one) Jesus, now against another." Yes, so he is sometimes confused with various thoughts, -some heaviness in my mind-, -completely bewildered-, -forsaken of all that is spiritual-, yet he feels and sees more at all -than I understood." '-

Unmistakable, to be sure: the "Spiritual Diary" is soon much less about the initially dominant subject, the question of poverty, about a full, partial or non-possession of the Society of Jesus, than, of course, about Ignatius' demonstration of his consolations, visions, exaltations, the almost endless noting of his "contacts with the heavenly crew, whereby Ignatius believes that the more eventful, the more eccentric his soul life, the richer his streams of tears and the more frequent, the more certain God's approval. Indeed, he believes this almost to the end, until, ironically, he thinks that it is quite different, that he has started from a completely wrong idea."

The most astonishing thing, however, is how astonishingly cool this exorbitant turmoil of the soul is usually registered and asserted, as the table of tears in particular shows. The word "tears" alone appears hundreds and hundreds of times in the "Spiritual Diary", with corresponding words such as "weeping" and "sobbing",
-water in the eyes- has not even been taken into account.

The diary covers a period of 3 O days. His writer did not cry on a- 4 ¡ days, i.e. on 3 i q days; of which in October, November and February x yd y on each day. {On z6 days he makes no mention of the matter.)"

Now, when Ignatius weeps, it does not mean that he has crushed a few crocodile tears; usually it flows as if from inexhaustible sources, it comes to "many tears", "heartfelt tears", to "violent shedding of tears", to "a great abundance of tears".

Tears", an -even greater abundance of tears-, to -many continuous tears-, -almost uninterrupted tears-, -tears in excess", flowing - again so many tears and in such great abundance and with so many sobs and spiritual delights, that even after I h a d already offered it to the Father before our Lady, the angels, I still continued to have the same tears etc.".

At times Ignatius wept six or seven times a day. Even the mere sound of Jesus' 1 name moved him to tears. Likewise, the idea that he was of Jewish descent and was ancestral to the Lord! Sometimes he can hardly pray the breviary because he is blinded by tears. And even when he thinks he is going to die in 5 yo, he bursts into tears - from sheer happiness. Wait, he claims eq
-Such great cheerfulness and such great spiritual comfort at having to die ... - But when things really got serious in the summer of i 5 J6, after restless hours around midnight, his nurse only ever heard the *words* "Ay, Dios" (Oh, God) from the dying man's room, which didn't sound very happy.

Ignatius weeps with true passion at Mass, which seems dry to him, almost devoid of devotion, without at least three times of weeping, and for which he therefore takes a particularly long time, while he checks everyone else's Mass with an hourglass placed at the altar.

Heaven itself often favors him during the celebration in such a way that the exhausted man has to be carried from the altar to his room; that he very often loses his speech, sometimes even his consciousness (already on February q - 544 twice in a row);
that occasionally he could hardly stand up from weakness, from floods of tears
can no longer see - "tears and eye pain we8en so
of many", it says in the fourth diary entry; and on March 4 he says to himself - because of the very (noticeable) considerable pain . ... because of the weeping in one eye ... how it would be better
would be to preserve the eyes-.

On the other hand, however, all the "inner graces", the "consolations" crowned him in such a way that "his head w a s transfigured by heavenly splendor", indeed his housemates saw him - at times ... when

he read Mass, hovering before the altar- {Erb). "The diary of the saint (Huonder SJ) gives us a moving insight into these solemn hours.

In the "spiritual" tradition, the "gift of tears" is well known, sometimes even systematized according to various modes and types of tears. After all, Jesus already wept {Lk. is. 4*: Jh. i I, 3§ .). And Paul also calls for weeping with those who weep (Rönn. in, x y). But Ignatius eclipses everything of this kind in early monasticism, in the pious Middle Ages, in mysticism. Between February z and March z i yyJ alone, he records i 8 times tears or weeping. After two months, however, Loyola's diaristic powers at least seem to have been exhausted, and he writes down almost half a line or less per day, for example of the

i. to September 3o:

i. - Before the mass with many tears, and in it without them.
z. -Before the mass with many tears, and in it with a few."
3 "Lots of tears at Mass, and with them afterwards.
q. -Before the mass and after it and in it with a great abundance of Tears.
5. "Without her".
6. -Before the mass and in it with many tears."
7. -Without her.
8. • Before the mass and in it with many tears. -
9- - With a few tears.
10. • Many tears before, during and after the mass."
11. • Many tears before, during and after the mass.
12. • The same."
13. -Before and within her with many tears.
zg. -The same.
15. -The same."
r6. -The same.
*7. during and after Mass with many tears.
z 8. -Before and after her many tears.
i9. "Vol in her and after her many tears.
10. "Before and within her many tears.
zz. -Many before the fair."

zz. -Before the fair a great abundance of it."
z3. Before the mass a great abundance of them, and in it several times with them.
*4 Tears late after mass."
x5. "Great abundance of it before the fair."
z6. Before the mass and in it many tears, and after it with them.
*7 -Before and in it with many.-
a8. -Before and in it with many.
z9. "Before with many, and in it with them.
yo. -Before and in it with many. -'-

Now the gratia lacrimarum, this degoutante permanent name, probably makes us think less of -favor-, of "grace", -God's work" than of the psychiatrist, after all, the saint's doctor had already issued a ban on crying - with success, by the way! The author of the autobiography "Report of the Pilgrim", Luis Con$alves da Camara, even reports, grotesquely enough, that Igna- tius "now experienced much more consolation" without crying than he had before." But could he stop as soon as he wanted to, couldn't he also start after staying?

VISIONS AND - PTI **lvI MEI4-**

To the streams of tears came the visions, visions almost like flocks of flies, Trinitarian visions, visions of the Eucharist, visions of creation, - all kinds of visions," attests Diego Laynez, one of Ignatius' first comrades, also one of his special confidants and later a general himself; indeed, in the zo. Jesuit Kempf, with **Imprimatul;** claims that Ignarius "was honored with almost daily apparitions of the Savior and his holy mother.

Apparitions, visions, visions, visions, visions are a worldwide spread, in most different cults and cultures since thousands of years known {refiexiv psychoggnes, psychosomatic)

A phenomenon whose variously characterized and motivated varieties range from sheer deception or mere hallucination to induced insanity.

Ignatius himself speaks of "vision, of - foam, - vision", -Heimsuchung-, to him -offenbarr-, to him -shows- himself, -stel1t - himself something -presents-, to him stands -before the eyes-, before the "outer", the -in- rieren", it often remains open. Again and again, he can also -understand- himself -within the "natural **crow**" - see- and -sense- something. Only to ourselves he usually reveals nothing.

For Ignatius stands face to face with the Lord of the universe, the creator of heaven and earth, eye to eye, as it were, but strikingly unecstatic. Heaven communicates with the tear-stained man in such a way that he quite often", yes -oh- loses his speech, occasionally even his consciousness, heaven gives him the power of speech. -spiritual rejoinders" that he exclaimed in delight: - "In what a way Father! And in what a way Son!" But nothing is said about the way afterwards.

Ignatius repeatedly speaks of the "assistance of grace", -total assistance of grace", -much assistance of grace-, "great assistance of grace", "such a great influx of knowledge, {visitation", also speaks again and again of the "Insights", - many spiritual insights", - many insights and inner realizations - of such strength that it seems to him, "that there was almost nothing more to know about ... this material of the Most Holy Trinity." But what do we learn?

Ignatius seems oh himself perplexed, can't stop saying of himself: Who are you? {Where from? That such things etc.) From whence? etc. What have you earned* Or from where this? etc'.- But does he reveal content* Details from all the richly revealed? Doesn't he just seem uninspired? Doesn't he write, exceptions aside, rather soberly, sparsely (not to mention the often hasty, extremely poor sentence structure)? Yes, he often reports formulaically, often interchangeably: "I saw something of the divine being", I had a "vision of the divine being", "I saw many times ... the divine being", I had "in a considerable way the same vision of the Most Holy Trinity", "the Holy Trinity stood before me".

I saw the Holy Trinity before my eyes; -I saw Jesus before my eyes-, -I saw Jesus before my eyes anew", -and I felt or saw the Holy Spirit himself", -and I saw the Mother and the Son", saw them "with the holy Child Jesus-, -saw and felt the mediators" etc.

Whereby the divine things hardly become clearer, he sees them "in spherical form-, -in the circular way-, "in a light and even very light way-, -always in the same light color-, -a light clarity- -light" it is often said, the thing is dark enough. And it remains so, even if he does not see it quite so clearly -in any one way {the Being) first the Being of the Father, and then first the Being, and then *in the* f-of,ge the Father; *and* cited *ar* the thought referred first to the Being and only *subsequently* to the Father; soon in another way and without so great a distinction.

The holy seer of spirits seems to have himself felt the sparseness of his far more than most omissions in this respect, He speaks of a -sensation or vision which cannot be explained in this way - which he himself does not understand: - thereby I felt and saw more than I understood, -- Another time he reveals: -and the saints {together) I saw in such a way that it cannot be written, just as the other things cannot be explained.- And yet another time there is talk of -insights so great and so subtle- -that I can find neither memory nor understanding t o explain or elucidate them."

Gaps in his memory sometimes come to his aid. Even -those spiritual insights which God, as he emphasizes, -imprinted on his soul", even -these things he neither knew how to explain, nor does he remember them very well ..." Even in that particularly great nu- minosc instruction that happened to him before Manresa, when he sat over the Plufi, -who went into the depths-, whereby he -understood and recognized- so many things, things of faith as well as of science, even there we remain completely unenlightened, for -it is not possible to explain the details that he understood at that time, although there were many ..."--.

What a pity. We would have liked to have had this explained to us.

What remains is the constantly reasserted Vicl-

The number of insights and cognitions generously granted to him by God, including his inability or unwillingness to explain them. Apparently, he is primarily concerned with the most lachrymose and discreet possible rumination o n the abundance of his contacts with the afterlife, especially his visual communications. In the autobiographical "Report of the Pilgrim", he boasts about "the ease of finding God" and assures us that "every time and at every hour that he wants to find God, he finds him. And that even now he has visions many times ... And this often happens to him when he is about to speak about things of importance; and this makes him come to confirmation.-*

Ignatius had, again according to his own testimony, -many visions" while he was reading the mass. And hard -they were also very often -when he wrote the statutes". In the "Report of the Pilgrim" we read: -Most were visions which he saw in confirmation of the statutes; and at times he saw God the Father, at times the three persons of the Trinity, at times Our Lady interceding ... -

The general occasionally has "much access to the Father, who then also revealed himself to him the most". However, he encounters Jesus, the master of his Compaiiia de Jestis, far more frequently.

The Lord shows himself to him as he lifts up the Host - - something like white rays coming from above ... -, whereby he sees him both before him and in heaven! But Christ also approaches him "many times and for a long time" in his "humanity" - - like a white body ..., not very large and not very small ... - - Ignatius receives many spiritual visions in Vicenza, Christ appears to him on the way to Venice, near Padua. And just outside Rome, in the chapel of La Storta on the Via Cassia, he is, admittedly contradictorily reported, -very particularly visited by God-, but had -on all these journeys great supernatural visitations-, -also on Cyprus -many times- -as if he saw Chrisius in the form of a - running and great thing that was like gold ..." And he sees him particularly often in Manresa, without lying, he says, "so- or domal.

In Jerusalem, where Franciscan experts present all the world-famous shoplifters who have been capturing Christian souls for

centuries,

high and low, shuddering with awe, with emotion, it seems to him at times that "he always sees Christ above him.- What a wonder; is he sometimes unfocused, does he limp a second time up the Mount of Olives, the "Mount of Ascension", in order to see once again "the imprinted footprints" on that stone, the ascent and departure ramp, so to speak, from which the Lord stepped off at his Ascension: for Igiiatius had not looked well and had forgotten in which direction the right foot or the left foot was warm!

The Zurich bell founder Peter Füessli, who at the time belonged to the same group of pilgrims as Ignatius, meticulously records in his diary all the sights visited (and occasionally the ducats paid for them), from the cave "where David ofr said his prayers", to the cave where the star of the Magi was illuminated and then "plunged" into the ground, to the place where many of the Innocent Children are buried, where the paschal lamb was roasted, where Judas "hanged himself", etc. etc. {cf. on this and other reliquaries III *4* ff., * 7 <., esp. zgo ff.!)"

On closer inspection, the private revelations given to Ignatius were indeed much more attractive, to say nothing of the greater authenticity: whether he saw the baccalaureus Hoces "enter heaven" or whether he saw the entire heavenly court,
-the heavenly fatherland-. He experienced how -God had created the world- -something white, from which some rays emerged, and that God made light out of it- -understandable, truly, if our church light were such supreme illumination.
-with great spiritual cheerfulness".

When Ignatius even saw the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity - "in the form of three keys" - it happened - with so many tears and so many sobs that he could not fight it - no wonder if his heart began to rise. No wonder, ntir of course, that his hair stood on end when he was taken before the divine majesty. No wonder, only natural, when he not only "looks" but also "tastes", when he is so often - full of warm and very sweet devotion, so often a certain

he feels "sweetness", "spiritual taste", -well-tasting and very spiritual insights- also, -new insights into spiritual things and new tastes-, so that he becomes very hot, he enjoys again and again - much inner and äufiere warmth",
-warm grace-, -warm and, as it were, red devotion- etc.

Finally, in addition to all this tasting, there is the -gift of voice- granted to him -*by God*-, the -taste" of voices he hears, of -the inner and outer voice", whereby especially the inner one, which reminds him of -the heavenly voice or music", is of -such a great inner euphony- that he can once again
"cannot express."

At times he can hardly get away from this -wonderful inner voice-, it belongs to his life almost like tears - with tears ... and with the wonderful inner voice, it is often said,
-with tears ... and with voice-, "with tears ... and wonderful inner voice-, -with many tears ... and with the two wonderful voices". When the tears cease, but not the voices, he has "doubts about the taste" of them and wonders -whether it is not after an evil spirit- and scruples too, -he indulges- himself
-too much on the tone of the voice in terms of sound, without paying so much attention to the meaning of the words and the voice. It may also be that during a whole week he only uses the outer voice
• sometimes - ßndet, - and the inner one even less. After all
he is sometimes more satisfied because of the taste of the voices,
calmer than when he cries.

Also in his - Spiritual Exercises - the saint urges every retreatant: - *Smell and taste* with the smell and the taste the infinite fragrance and the infinite sweetness of divinity ... -*'

It is well known that Christian theologians have a tried and tested recipe to increase this sweetness, to make it even sweeter. Ancient Xchurch fathers, Tertullian, Cypriaii, Lactanz, to go no further back, already advised us to taste heavenly pleasure even more lustfully, eternal bliss even more blissfully - by looking at the misery of the damned in hell: what a noble Christian, Christian-Catholic lust! How then, at the height of the with

Thomas Aquinas also generously animated: "That the saints may be better pleased with blessedness (magis complaceat) and thank God even more for it, they may complete the punishments of the wicked (perfectel schauen-.

The systematic instruction for a more intensive enjoyment of this special spiritual view and happiness is now given by the one who, according to the Jesuit Tondi, connects human greatness with the actions of a mentally disturbed person, who, according to the ex-Jesuit Hoensbroech, was like no other African mystic and pathological hysteric: Ignatius of Loyola.

In his Spiritual Exercises, the Fifth Exercise consists of an in-depth meditation on hell (and even today every Jesuit must participate in these exercises twice in his life for forty days and eight days every year).

In a first "preliminary exercise" or "introduction", the excerptant is to visualize the "length, breadth and depth of hell" with the gaze of the imagination, and in a second, to get a vivid feeling of the punishment suffered by the damned. Then, in the main program - a five-point ex- ercitium - each individual must insistently suggest to himself the spectacle of hell: the eye - the great master of souls - sets the first exercise sensitively - at midnight" - those unfeeling glows of fire and the souls as in fiery bodies; the ear - the second exercise - (so that one may begin the day fresh and joyful).
-immediately after rising in the morning - -the weeping, wailing, crying, blasphemies against Christ our Lord and against all his saints - : the nose - this third meditation sometime before the midday meal - "the smoke, sulphur, the **puddle** and **putrefaction** in hell "¡ the sense of taste - around vespers time - "the bitter things, the tears, the sadness, the worm of conscience in hell-; finally, the sense of touch must "touch those glowing embers that seize and burn the souls", and at the end of the fifth course, which Ignatius calls his hour before the evening table, the practitioner should "call to mind all the souls that are in hell" and rejoice that he himself does not {yet) belong to them.

But the highly respected retreat guru is far from satisfied with this. He offers several pages of additions - TO MAKE THE EXERCISES BETTER. For example, immediately after going to bed, -when I am about to fall asleep, think for the duration of a *Hail* Mary about the round in which I have to stand and what for ... - And then, on waking up: "Without giving room to one thought or another, immediately pay attention to what I am about to contemplate in the first exercise at midnight by getting myself into confusion about my so many sins." Of course, "any consideration of joy and cheerfulness is a hindrance." So: -Don't want to think about things of joy and gladness, such as glory, resurrection, *etc.*- Don't laugh or say anything that makes you laugh.- And of course: - Chastise the flesh, namely by inflicting palpable pain on it, which one does by wearing bufihem- den or ropes or iron rods over the flesh, by being bruised or wounded, and other kinds of rigors.'"

All of this in the fight against sin, against Satan, the self-refuting Ignatius also tries to do this. Thus a very beautiful thing often appears to him in broad daylight, which amuses him immensely, brings him great comfort, a shining something in the shape of a "snake", as if shining with many eyes, intrusive, for hours and days. -And the more often he saw it, the more the consolation grew; and when that thing disappeared, he felt this." He had not explained the serpent vision, whose secret, according to Juan Alonso de Polanco, 8Cft 1547 secretary of the Society, Ignatius, iii Man- resa, Paris, in Rome, but rarely registers such diabolical inter- sparkling.

On the other hand, the heads of the heavenly hosts accompany him on all his ways; they speak, confer with him, show him their favor. And did they not have to? Didn't he need their confirmation from his comrades-in-arms, whom the ambitious general-to-be was gradually gathering around him?

But how was he identified?

THE CONSTANT "LOOK UPWARDS" OR THE
WITH A MYSTICAL TELESCOPE^

Ignatius, the very tardy student, had only graduated in Paris in xyi8. began to study theology and was not far behind, was "really never got beyond the beginnings" (Boehmer). He also left behind no theological work, not a single theological book, no sermons or commentaries on biblical books. He had no theological knowledge worth mentioning at all, and certainly no great resources of ideas.

"Not much knowledge at all, but all the more "the inner feeling and tasting of things - the tasting".

Ignatius was a layman for a long time, for m'-4 6 years, until 1537. until his ordination to the priesthood, which, however, did not require any academic training. In contrast, a theological doctorate required twelve years of training.

However, he had only studied theology for one and a half semesters. As a "lay theologian", he was arrested several times, brought before the Inquisition and confronted with a flood of lawsuits. overdrawn. - 5*7 He is imprisoned for 4 days, and soon afterwards for another zz days, and although he is released, he and his family are forbidden to speak of "matters of faith", because they do not understand anything.

ne knowledge." Monks elsewhere also criticized him for how little he had studied and with how little foundation ... You are not scientifically trained ..." Yet he himself, already almost forty years old, admits t o being -very poorly grounded.

So what could have legitimized him more, what could have made his claim to leadership more credible than the metaphysical rendezvous so abundantly bestowed upon him, all the mysterious encounters with the highest lords of heaven and earth individually and in corpore, signalled to the world as it were by his constant "upward gaze" ?

{The work painted by Alonso Sänchez Coclllo, court painter to King Philip II of Spain, i 58 J, probably conveys the best idea of this Ignatian gaze, this pseudo-shamelessly impertinent look -up-. The general, who is said by Jean Carin to have an -un- handsome face- had, despite all the pleas of his disciples

could never be depicted. The many portraits produced after his death were not satisfactory, and so Fr. Pedro de Ribadenei- ra, Loyola's first biographer and one of his closest companions, undertook the -Portuguese Titian - to create a portrait after the death mask. Coello did this with frequent prayerful invocations to the blessed saint. And Fr. Pedro de Ribadeneira SJ also read holy masses day after day to encourage the creative process at the easel. And so there was finally that grandiose portrait, from which Brother Pedro was only able to glean a painfully inadequate resemblance to "Father Ignatius", but which - as it seems to me, quite successfully - combines the expression of more or less discreet slyness, which is typical of a certain category of pious people, with what is commonly known simply as a blow, a heavy blow, a transcendent one for my sake).

Yes, even if he had studied all his life, he affirms. Ignatius in February is‹4 ' diary, -I would not know so much-. After all, he had -a different capacity for cognition- and -of course- spiritual insights, so much so that it seemed to me ... that there was almost nothing more to know about (the) material ... there was not more to know.

As a churchman, the illustrious order founder was an experienced "practitioner" who was obviously on very weak theological ground. This is the only way to understand how brazenly he constantly retells us his supernatural insights, the sheer endless abundance of empyreal visions, consolations and visitations, the ostentatious matter-of-factness with which he tells us his - many {spiritual insights or spiritual memories", so -many considerable, tasty and (spiritual) very spiritual insights-, - such great insights that one could not write it, -such great clarity .... . as one cannot explain - .

Ignatius also claimed the highest level of cooperation in the composition of his writings. However, if he encountered opposition, criticism of his own views and plans, he would briefly attribute them to the will of God - one of the oldest, cheapest, yet most effective clerical tricks.

Ignatius repeatedly referred to God. Everything halfway we-

The most important things, not least his "theo1ogical" findings, his knowledge of faith, came from him. And even if the presentation of the metaphysical fluctuated back and forth between b e i n g very clear and very vaguely irritating, it was precisely the continuity of the contacts, the enormous number of visions that strengthened the trust of his followers and conveyed the highest degree of certainty, so to speak. Loyola's triumphs were also regarded a s a "sign of divine closeness", as a "sure sign of heavenly endowment", proving, as it were, "the presence of God." And so he continued to spread his face water until the last years of his life, even if, it seems, in a reduced form, he was no longer able to convince anyone with it.

In any case, the man knew what he had to do, a s he could see from the intensity and frequency of the apparitions of spirits and spirits that the matter was from God. -If I could s a y what I know of Master Ignatius," often repeated his confessor, the old "saintly" Father Jakob Eguia, "how much and how much I knew!" However, the noble Ignatius, whose humility is still praised today, did not want that at all - and took another confessor."

Naturally, the - Sohrie- were astonished and asked for information about his mystical delights, "God's graceful guidance. e Mari pressed him - soon told to spy professionally anyway - and he revealed himself; an advantage, he thought, both for the young order and for himself. "In confidential conversation, he pointed out his exclusive audiences, raptures, **raptures.** Fr. Diego Laynez, for example, one of his first comrades and successors. Or Fr. Jerónimo Nadal, who once acted as if he had been with God just a short time before:
-Jetzt war ich haher als der Himmel - (Nunc ego altior caelo eram).
The Father would have liked to -full reverence" Niiheres, but the saint modestly deflected. "He pulls the conversation away from that.- And r y5¢ insists Nadal to the - Valer" again: -It's been almost four years that I complain to you, not only in my name, but in that of the other Fathers, you miichret explain, Valer, how the Lord has taught you from the beginning of your conversion." *

Certainly, the general was not always in heaven. He often looked

He only looked up for a long time, especially into the shimmering vault at night, often from the roof of a Roman house. "He sat there quietly, completely still," Laynez recounts. -He took off his hat and looked up at the sky for a long time. Then he got down on his knees and bowed low before God.

stream down his cheeks ... - This Ignatian stargazing ("How dirty and lowly the earth appears when I look at the sky!") became both a spiritual exercise and a popular motif in the neo-Latin Jesuit poetry of the 17th century - "And the disgusting earth appeared void of all dirt.""

The real work, the pioneering deed, was also accomplished here by Igna- tius. He had observed the universe, felt the realms of the blessed with his -inner eye-, with his -special *gaze*-. And even if the pious investigator did not always find what he was looking for, neither the Virgin nor, -further up-, a Trinitarian person, he did not always have the great enlightenment, but always a great stirring of tears and sobs, with a certain seeing and feeling "

But if you can't make sense of it, you will gain the right - attitude-, the necessary optical approach with Gottfried Maron's competent commentary, after all already from the third millennium: -Ignatius here grants us deep insights into the practice of his own - spiritual exercises' It

is a piece of mystical technique that we learn about here. Ignatius tried and experimented methodically with his inner eyes until he found the right spiritual direction of vision. He searches the heavenly cosmos as if with a mystical telescope. Of course, the telescope was only invented around i 6oo. It is like an anticipation of mysticism.

It is, in a word, indescribable.

"BLIND - OBEY AS IF NFAN
"A LxiCHNAM-

But everything shows and should show: behind Ignatius stands God, stands the whole Gloria Dei, his honor, glory, majesty. Behind Ignatius stands to whom the universe is owed, stands the earth, stands all life on it, all power and, what the General of course particularly emphasizes, the precondition of all power: obedience! However, since God himself never appears and rules - the greatest of all small-luck! - since he is known to let everything run its course, the clergy, as far as possible, likes to rule for him, the priesthood figures and functions in his place and at its head: the superior. Instead of God, as his representative, he receives obedience, an obedience that has perhaps never been demanded so relentlessly, never been formulated so radically, of course only -for the higher glory of God".

Particularly instructive is what Ignatius dictated to the secretary Fr. Philipp Vito from his sickbed, *which I leave as a testament to the Society.*

i. Above all, when I enter the Order and always afterwards, I must be ready to place myself completely in the hands of God Our Lord and His representatives.

a. I must wish to have such a person as a superior who is considering the denial of my own judgment and understanding is.

. In everything that is not sin, I must follow the will of the superior, not my own.

d. Obedience has three degrees: The first is to obey when commanded in obedience, and this obedience is good. The 11th degree is to obey a simple command, and this obedience is better. The third degree is to anticipate the orders of the superior by doing what I recognize as his wish, even if he does not express it explicitly. This obedience is much more perfect than the other two.

5. I must not look at whether the person who commands me is the

I must direct my whole mind to obeying, considering that it is God who speaks from every superior .... .

7 I must not want to be my own master at all, but must give myself to the one who created me and to the one who guides and governs me in God's place. In his hands
I will be like rich wax in the fingers of the sculptor ...

(8) I should regard myself like a corpse that has neither will nor feeling; like a small cross that can be turned this way or that without difficulty; or like an old man's staff, which he uses as he sees fit and places where it seems most useful to him. In this way, I must allow myself to be found ready for anything that the Order wants to use me for, without objecting to any order."'° The ordinance {"Mandate") is exactly along these lines.

of the reverend Fr. Magister Ignatius of zq. August i 55o: "If in future His Reverence {Ignatius) calls anyone in the house - the same applies if the Father Minister calls a priest or lay brother or the Father Subminister calls a lay brother - he must follow immediately, as if he heard the voice of our Lord commanding in the name of His Divine Majesty.

On such occasions everyone must listen so blindly and quickly that, if he is praying, he immediately interrupts the prayer, if he is writing, at the voice of the superiors or, more correctly, at the voice of U. Lord the started letter, e.g. ß. A or B unfinished.

It speaks for itself that the]esuit should obey "blindly", that he should allow himself to be led by his superiors as if he were -a light- nam- (the word -cadaver obedience- comes from this), that he must even interrupt his prayer "immediately" if he hears the -voice of the superiors". And it is no less significant that Ignarius, himself gifted with high "prayer graces", used to pray for many hours every day {although no one knows what he really thought and did in his prayer times}, but that he did not appreciate the prayer of others, at least its length, very much. He recommended to Duke Francis of Borgia that he shorten his prayer time by half

and to devote the other half to "spiritual conversations, study and state affairs. And he instructed Fr. Araoz, the provincial of Spain, to be content with one hour of prayer a day instead of three.

The fact that the rule of the new order did not provide for a common Liturgy of the Hours even caused offense in the Vatican. However, the General was extremely reticent when it came to giving orders for prayer.

-with all determination against the demand for an *extension of the time of* prayer- (Huonder SJ). He answered such requests - "with evident distaste {desgosto) in face and words", and this with such strong emphasis that one was surprised. He was also able to declare that a quarter of an hour *was* enough for a truly deadened navy to unite with Gort; indeed, it would be a matter of

"more virtue and grace in being able to rejoice in his God in different businesses and in different places than only in the prayer chair ..." Finally, he also knew that in reality

-God is often more pleased with other things than with prayer and is even pleased if you do without it ... --'

So the prayer chair lost its attraction, lost its place here.

his importance. Even a quarter of an hour's prayer could seem sufficient to Ignatius for his sons, indeed even God could find some things better, more necessary than praying; different things, for example, in different places, studies, state projects. In contrast to other religious groups, choral prayer, religious costumes and chanting had not even been introduced. One should fit in well with the world in order to fit in with the community of Ignatius {s. motto). As its first Superior General, he deliberately gave it a practical orientation, a political quality, the ability for mobility, flexibility and accommodation. However, what was so piously called the apostolic mission, "winning the sea" and "spreading the faith", was nothing but the old, but intensified greed for power, the main goal of the order "for the higher glory of God", in fact the papacy, to which one would now be particularly bound by a special papal obedience.

Whatever role Bufien and divine inspirations play in the strange-

!

However much his Trinity and Christ mysticism soon filled baroque hagiographies, reality was not shaped by asceticism, devotion and contemplation, but by Ignatian-Jesuit actions. The Society of Jesus became a major player in the Counter-Reformation through its worldwide advances and interventions, its indoctrination of young people, its takeover of higher education, its universities, the expansion of the so-called Jewel Theater, its intensive penetration into the centers of power, especially as princely and court confessors in Vienna, Munich, Ma- drid, Lisbon and Paris.

y. CHAPTER

CONFESSIONALISM BEGINS

• After all, ever since the rulers took the political and ecclesiastical revolution into their own hands, the people had only been dependent on obedience, suffering and toleration. The so-called Augsburg Peace of Religion was a new source of untold misery for the people. The Catholic historian Johannes Janssen'

-It is therefore obvious that Protestantism could not mean the dawning of the modern world. On the contrary, despite all its great new ideas, it initially appeared as a renewal and entanglement of the ideal of ecclesiastical culture, as a full reaction of medieval thought, which devoured the already achieved beginnings of a free and secular culture ... It also prompted Catholicism to revitalize its ideas, and so Europe once again experienced two centuries of medieval thinking while the ideas and ways of life of the Renaissance spread. The Protestant theologian and cultural philosopher Ernst Troeltsch-

THE CoxrESSIONALIZATION BE'JIxNT ...

The Religious Peace of Augsburg in the year i 5 yy (VIII d yo ff.} was the result of the power-political parity of the emperor, Catholic and Protestant estates, the result of their powerlessness to make each other ineffective, either militarily or otherwise. So they wanted to bring the contentious religion - not otherwise, but by Christian, friendly, peaceful means and ways - to a unanimous, Christian understanding and agreement. They called each other

-both religious confederates, in order to "abolish the highly damaging misunderstanding in the empire, to prevent this laudable nation from an imminent downfall". The laudable nation, estimated in millions around 1600 - since then officially:

-Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation - xy million people, was the most populous country in Europe after France.

Accepted by the Catholics only nolens volens, the Religious Peace of Augsburg had granted the Lutherans protection under imperial law, but had also legitimized the confessional division of the empire and thus ushered in the age of confessionalization {sometimes dated a s early as the i 3 xocr years) is quite unique.

The two major denominations and the Reformed Church, which was illegal in Germany but also enjoyed the de facto protection of religious peace, now consolidated their positions, their dogma, their constitution and their social forms of life in general.

Of course, they all claimed to be the only "true" church,

Naturally, they turned on each other. The fronts hardened, the divisions widened. There were never-ending rivalries, "religious wars", "xonfessional wars", Kappel wars

{p. 67), the Schmalkaldic War (p. VII 44 f.), the wars in the later i 6th century in France, the Netherlands. One -christianitas afflicta -, a destroyed Christendom emerged. Maintaining the confessional standpoint became more important than any attempts at understanding. It was political power in particular that influenced matters, developing and controlling a kind of state confession, just as confessionalization also stabilized state power and promoted territorial growth. -One power lent its arm to the other. Both educated the subjects to show due respect to the one and the other power ... For both saw themselves as God-appointed powers, which had to fulfill the same mission with their specific means: to give glory to God and to establish and maintain order and order, welfare and justice on earth" (E.W. Zeeden).

The old do-ut-des-Schacher thus, the incessant interaction between church and state, according to Ranke "the ever freer, more comprehensive, deeper movement of the spirit", but in fact the merging of completely unmanned power dualities, co-operation of the unspiritual, constitution of new churches under traditional control, of course, Disciplining the subjects, the elites of the estates, and last but not least the suppression and persecution of dissenting groups, such as Anabaptists, Bohemian Brethren, anti-Trinitarians, Jews, who all interpreted the Gospel in their own way, who resisted both the fixed confessional norms and the organizational structures of the mainstream churches.

Here too, as always in Christianity, in religions as a whole, the main faiths, Lutherans and Calvinists, split again, internal doctrinal disputes

{concerning the understanding of Scripture, justification, the doctrine of original sin, free will, good works, the Lord's Supper) brought the Wittenberg Reformation to the brink of crime on several occasions, no matter how much the so-called Re-

The government sought to defuse, unify and harmonize dogma through religious discussions and confessional documents.

But if Luther *had already* opposed Karlstadt in the early days of the Reformation, Müntzer, Zwingli, Erasmus, there were even more conflicts now, for example in the Adiaphorist controversy, the Gnesiolutherans, the -real- Lutheran students; or Flacians {after the theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus) bitterly resisted the Philippists suspected of crypto-Calvinism, which led to imprisonments, deaths during those; to expulsions. And the Flacians splintered again. In Calvinism, the ßurgundian Theodor von Beza, rector of the Geneva College and Calvin's successor, and the rigorous Scotsman John Knox opposed each other; in the Netherlands, the Gomarists and Arminians, the Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants. Saw

Pius IV. but iJ*4 - -at least in Germany the situation had improved insofar as the heretics were not united but divided into many sects.

The period of confessionalization, the time immediately after the Reformation¡ was, at least until recently, even as neglected by its researchers, as meagrely studied as the beginning phase of confessionalization, the time immediately after the Reformation¡ largely plunged into darkness, it appears almost as a stepmotherly, even an -illegitimate child of German histnriography" {Hsia).

The Reforniatiori, for which there was such widespread resonance, albeit for different reasons, had led on the one hand - in Switzerland, England, Scotland, Scandinavia, the Empire - to *new* church foundations, and on the other - in the Netherlands, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania - to confessional pluralism, which by no means always included tolerance. The great upheaval that gripped estates and states, the economy and **culture,** but especially the mentalities of the people, was an international event that sometimes proved to be system-stabilizing, sometimes system-breaking, in various forms and phases, sometimes a creeping evangelization, a gradual outgrowth of the old church, sometimes more eruptive as a tu- multarian turn to the new teachings.

Of course, Luther's writings and those of his comrades-in-arms were destroyed, and his early Augustinian followers in particular were persecuted and sometimes burned. -The jurisdiction of the Xetzer court was extended to Protestant movements. Protestant theologians and preachers were expelled from their places of work for various reasons ... Even before the 'Counter-Reformation', the forces of the Old Believers were already endeavoring to
- even with the use of force - {Vogler). And in Italy and Spain, where the popes had even more power, t h e y had new believers discovered tortured by the Inquisition, burned at the stake, taken to the gallows or had their heads cut off.

But Protestantism, its theology, its ethics, was also widely enforced with the fist, by means of uprisings, rebellions, iconoclasms, clerical storms -from below-, by the so-called common man, virtually -patron saint of the Reformation-; whereby the townspeople acted decisively, without whom "there would have been no Reformation at all" tBlickte, Schilling, H.R. Schmidt). In contrast to Sweden, for example, which lMfi Z§OO ft**4 , in the under-
Livonia, which at that time had only zo cities, there were in the empire
{in addition to i 3O OOO villages - an uncertain number) around 4oOo towns, albeit mostly smaller and smallest, whose lower classes, people without civil rights, without property, poor people, often made up 4 to 6o percent of the population.

These urban populations, already increasingly threatened by inner-local conflicts in the later i 5th century, were now seized by such mass revolts as neither before nor after, although of course - the dream of an autonomous peasant world" {W. Schutze), has always been a virulent dream of these peasants, for centuries the lowest class in the social hierarchy (cf. VIII, Chapter 3!). And although unrest was typical not only of the Alpine countries or the German southwest, but of the entire empire, indeed of the whole of early modern Europe: peasant uprisings in England, France, Spain, Bohemia, Hungary, south-eastern Europe, Poland and Russia; although the peasants did not always take violent action against their oppressors, but were too

The cities were increasingly using legal means, and resistance was more the rule than the exception, especially within the cities.

Incidentally, this shows that the legitimacy of the authorities is by no means

was taken for granted. After all, the archives contain sufficient testimonies to the effect that "there is no need for an oberkait and one can live without one like in Switzerland" - where the nobility, for example, unlike the European nobility in general, did not have a special status, as was the case in the Netherlands at most.

However diverse the motives for popular uprisings may be - assertion of political power, defense of privileges, of competences on the one hand, defense against rising taxes, front burdens, inflation, famine, loss of livelihood on the other - there is no urban uprising in the i 5zoer, the i 55oer years in which the Reformation did not play a role and often a dominant one. - The receptive attitude of the towns can be explained by a strong anti-clericalism" {Blickten.

anticlericalism, which goes back deep into the Middle Ages, then in

This attitude, which culminated in the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, experienced its first great flowering following the Reformation and was particularly widespread in the early modern period, as no other profession was now exposed to such excessive exploitation as the clergy. However, this attitude was no less common in the countryside and was the result of many things, for example, all the church regulations that were increasingly recognized as superfluous, the result of all the privileges of secular and religious clerics, their exemption from taxes, guard duty, military service, state jurisdiction, the special economic position of monks, etc. In addition, the priests accumulated more and more wealth. In addition, the priests accumulated benefices, engaged in sinister business, simony, traded in indulgences, squandered the church and monastery assets, committed the majority of offenses against celibacy, hypocrites, fornicators, in short, they preached water and drank wine.

This and other such things were all too provocative for contemporaries, and it could hardly improve their social behavior.

-Unfortunately, we experience and see this every day," laments r t 83

of the Freiburg

Theologian Jodokus Lorich, "that our Catholic people are guilty of all the sins of overeating and overdrinking, of unchastity, of negligence in the service of God, of lavish arrogance in dress, of swearing and swearing, of usury, lying, cheating, envy, hatred and many other even more serious abominable vices, so that we clergy are also little improved." And the Protestant Johann Andreas finds only a desolate, epicurean, beastly life with eating, drinking, greed, strutting and blasphemy of God's name among the Lutheran crowd in Germany.

In contrast, the religious consciousness of both the masses and the so-called elites was by no means very developed, was only slightly influenced by Christian postulates, maxims and sayings, and many did not even really know the basics of their religion. Indeed, it was claimed that a century of Protestant indoctrination had had little or no effect on people's religious consciousness, and it was flatly denied that ordinary people felt Lutheran, Catholic or even Christian after a century of formal religious education through the catechism. People simply know far too little about religion {Gerald Strauss).

.. . AND THE LUTHERAN STATE CHURCH, -FoRTSET2ING OF THE BAuxRxxRIEGE "WITH OTHER MEANS--

Religion was certainly not the rulers' first concern. For them, religion was still an indispensable ingredient, a maxim of life, but above all: an effective instrument of discipline, an important medium for consolidating and expanding their power. Even in the iq. century, the interplay between religion and politics was advocated with the sentence: -If religion stands by the legislator, he can achieve his ends by much easier means than if he is abandoned by this shell." Still Scho-

penhauer calls them the servant Ruprecht, with whom the bad guys are brought to &tt.

Religion, which, in its institutionalized form, is always was also {and for their leaders primarily) politics "nd is the political. And the political was almost always, especially in a monotheistic environment, religiously motivated and sanctioned as soon as it was opportune, and often still is today, in Islam as in Christianity.

In the early modern period, the general Reformation was absorbed by a state action, the Protestant movement of the people mutated into a territorial, princely Reformation, whereby early princely reformations, in contrast to the Reformation -from be1ow- {Brady), sur Reformation as -urban event- (A. G. Dickens), were relatively rare.

The lords liked to let their decisions mature until they were sure of their advantage, their temporal advantage: the filling of their coffers, the requisitioning of episcopal rights and ecclesiastical property (sometimes almost nobly called "transfer of property"); until the consolidation of the denomination also promised that of their dominion and a subjugation formed even in the lowest classes and monitored by officials, informers and informers served the lordly goals. There is no need to mention that much of this was superficially based on confessional grounds, which was purely secular, administrative, fiscal, economic and purely state-political. And of course, not only personal but also very political and economic factors and the expectation of social or material benefits played a not inconsiderable role in the conversion of the nobility.

The essential basis was the more or less vague sympathy of the masses for the new dogmatic foundation: sola **gratia,** sola fide, sola scriptura. The -true faith-, the "pure doctrine-, to be protected by the state with all its power, was more important than -pious living-. Luther had already preached: "Doctrine must not be joked about, it must remain pure and right; but we are not so strict about life." "You can let life be evil".

The territories of the prince went to the Reformation, but this was actually only the continuation of an already pre-Reformation, late medieval development, the competition between the sovereigns and the great noble families, whereby the victory of the "state" was not a foregone conclusion. However, the steadily increasing accumulation of power on the part of the sovereigns led to a surge in "nationalization". Confessionalization unified the territory, consolidated society, promoted control, promoted friihabsolutist tendencies, it opened up previously essential areas of competence of the church, marriage, family, education, now to the -state-, it supported it, became part of it, it stowed away.

The formation of the early modern state, which took place in close connection with the confessionalization, was not entirely without struggle; the Gnesiolutherans in particular, the "right-wing" Lutherans, resisted the "Caesaropapie", the subordination of the church to the state. However, the prince now also became master of the regional church and, contrary to Luther's original intention, he took over its leadership, entering into episcopal rights, so to speak. As -summus episcopus - he governed the church of his country, which now did not lead to the sacralization of the prince, but to the secularization of the state, to the politicization of all ecclesiastical matters, to the subsumption of the ecclesiastical legal order under the jurisdiction of the secular. The confessional and the political merge into one another and are almost the same thing. Confessionalization favours territorialization, territorialization favours confessionalization.

• Your Princely Grace shall be our Pope and Emperor-,

wrote the peasants of Balhorn to Philipp von Hesse as early as is•3 . At no time, neither before nor after, had religion been so directly and seriously linked to the development of the state.

The state's development is as intertwined as in the i 6th century, when "the state, with the help of its church, climbed the last step to completely independent autonomy" {Handbook of European History). In the next century, the English philosopher and statesman

Thomas Hobbes made church sovereignty a part of state power and the sovereign the teacher of his subjects.

The prince now took over the supervision of the church, he was also in charge of all church property, unless it was owned by catholic authorities, he received all autonomous rights, he determined ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ecclesiastical legislation. Its functionaries were also responsible for caring for the poor and the sick, and diaconia became a matter for the police, both in Lutheranism and Calvinism. Those who did not like this could, were allowed or even forced to emigrate, and not only under Protestant rule.

- Throughout the i6. Throughout the sixth century, countless people were excluded from society, temporarily or forever, expelled from their homeland, streams of refugees poured through the countries for confessional reasons, often with subsequent divisions and pogroms: Anabaptists in the empire, Calvinists in the Netherlands, Protestants in France, Jews, the largest group among religious minorities, from many areas of Europe (while the Ottoman rulers favored their immigration; iii In Istanbul, there were erwa jo ooo Jews in i74).-

Last but not least, the Prince controlled the staffing

This was all the more important as moral discipline was also the responsibility of the secular officials, the state: the prosecution of blasphemy**,** swearing, drinking, gambling, **fornication,** illegitimate marriages, the maintenance of obedience, morality, piety, hot temper, punishment with fines and corporal punishment, imprisonment, expulsion. On the other hand, the Lutheran ecclesiastical courts also had secular judicial powers and the involvement of pastors was integrated and institutionalized in the criminal proceedings. The state increasingly governed society and the parishes. Just as Protestant preachers, as functionaries of the state, very often collaborated with its officials, so too were temporal lower courts, judging and punishing sins, as has been proven for Denmark as well as for Schleswig Holstein or Württemberg.

Church and police ordinances, sin discipline and criminal law

The two kingdoms, ecclesiastical penitential procedures and ancient European jurisdiction therefore appear to be closely related, closely interwoven phenomena. The extent to which Luther's Two Kingdoms {VIII 38i), his originally iiitendent separation of spiritual and secular government, were in reality intertwined may be illustrated pars pro toto by the police regulations of the Countess of East Frisia from the year 54s show: "Since all authorities are ordained by God Almighty to protect the pious and to punish evildoers, so that their congregation and subjects may be taught in the fear of the Lord, kept in good discipline, and be able to live in peace. ... are always well governed with justice, good order and police ... We must see to it that the grave vices of blasphemy, swearing, gambling, drinking to excess, lying in taverns day and night, and ostentatiousness in dress, which brings woman and child as well as the man himself to the begging bar, as well as quarrels and bloody brawls, are not practiced, Adultery, prostitution and fornication, usury and all other wickedness, of which the world is unfortunately full, will not remain unpunished for the sake of common peace and order, but especially because it is offensive to God Almighty and His holy word is thereby dishonored -.'

The result was not a "church from below" that was remote from the state, but rather the opposite, a strongly authority-oriented state church; not a church in which the congregational principle was decisive, but rather the state-imposed denominational compulsion; not a church in which all believers became priests, as had once been proclaimed, but rather in which all priests, as advocates of the state, disciplined the congregations in its sense, practiced civic obedience, declared resistance as rebellion against God - not much different, properly understood, than within Catholicism, including post-Tridentine Catholicism, of course, one need only think of the Curia's struggle against the state church of Philip II and Philip III. and Philip III.

In the Protestant area, a pastor's church emerged that was almost symbiotically linked to the prince, a church that increasingly developed into the church of the political rulers, into a Lutheran state church. It is indeed

In historiography, it is a consistently prevailing doctrine that the Lutheran churches were "strict state churches" (Zeeden). "The judgment that Lutheranism promoted the authoritarian state, if not brought it about, is frequently found" (H.R. Schmidt). Could G. Zimmermann could call the sovereign church regiment in the history of the Reformation "the continuation of the Peasants' War 'by other means'" (although the peasant uprisings, which were always ruthlessly crushed, also proved to be a continuation of the Reformation).

continued: J7i In Slovenia and Croatia, -s J blG i 597 and i 6z6 in Upper Austria, i So6 to 1 7 in RuBland, i 633 to i 6j4 in Bavaria. Throughout Europe, from Spain and Italy to England, from the Balkans to Poland, Sweden and Finland, there were peasant uprisings by the hundreds, not to mention the less spectacular but constant "small-scale wars in everyday life".

The Protestant state church also prevailed in the far north.

chentism.

Gustav I Vasa (i y13-I 56o} was executed by the Danes after the "Stockholm bloodbath" against Sweden on November 8th and 8th. On November 8th, i yzo, about a hundred people, including two bishops and many nobles, were sent to Dalarne for offenses against the church and "heresy"; there he was elected leader by the bishops, and by the spring of the following year he had already won the whole of central Sweden in a campaign, and soon afterwards also most of the rest of the country, and on 6 y-ni

i 5a3 the Diet of Strängnäs elected her as Swedish king.

• g - s <7* tlfblierre he followed the German model {here, however, from the outset - f r o m above") the Reformation, rifi monastery and church.

The church was to pay off its national debts (to its ally Lübeck) and to finance a fleet, which was soon followed by a new church robbery" (von Pastor).

In Denmark, under King Christian III, all the bishops were imprisoned in August x y j S, then rewarded for their apostasy with their estates and a monastery each, although they themselves were replaced by superintendents. Many monks who resisted ended up in exile, some on the gallows. The rest of the Catho

liken lost its hereditary title through the Diet of Copenhagen .• J4 right and saw himself declared unfit for all offices.

In Norway, which had been a Danish province since i y36, the king's commissioners confiscated the diocesan property, robbed the churches and had the cathedral at Drontheim profaned into a stable.

Finally, in Iceland, the eighty-year-old Bishop of Skalholt, Ogmund Paalsson, and the church treasury were sent to Denmark; his successor Bishop Jon Aresson, exhorted by Pope Paul III {VIII 4¢3 ff!) to courageous perseverance, was beheaded. Yet Pope Paul so ardently desired union, reconciliation with the Lutherans, of course he only wanted -true union-, not one through -the granting of concessions-, Rome's stance, as we know, still today. (Paul's successor, Julius III, also gave the cardinal legate Marcello Crescenzi the clear instruction during the Council of Trent -to only enter into negotiations with the Protestants if they were prepared to s u b m i t to the decisions of the Council convened by the Pope as the legitimate head of the Church.").

CUIUS REGIO, EI US RELtGJO

The Peace of Augsburg, a halfway decent modus vi- vendi, had guaranteed peace, the renunciation of the use of force for religious reasons and also allowed Protestants to keep their church property (more seriously: secularized).

After all, Catholic princes had already made use of it, even in pre-Reformation times, as early as the late Middle Ages, so as not to go back any further.

In Germany, for example, since the ii. From the second century onwards, the lords of the land sought to usurp ecclesiastical estates, to occupy lucrative church positions, to intervene in the most profitable clerical matters possible, in short, to control the entire "external" church.

In Spain, whose Catholic kings - since the beginning of the modern era - had established a state church, the complete domination of their national church.

Charles V's son and successor; the thoroughly Catholic Philip, who felt himself to be the secular head of Roman Christendom, interfered and encroached on the clergy to such an extent that Pius IV threatened a corresponding negotiation, a "princely reform", at the Council of Trent.

But in France, too, the Catholic side took extensive partial expropriations and the crown financed the Huguenot Wars by selling church property (p. a3¢ ff.). Without much exaggeration, Cardinal TruchseB {p. roy ff.) could claim that "even i n the Catholic states, the bishops hardly ruled the church any more, but rather the princes and their officials." After all, they generally claimed -an unrestricted right over the monasteries because these w e r e the foundations of their ancestors.- It was also not a s rare as one m i g h t think f o r abbots to squander the property of their abbeys on their own sons. The Protestants were certainly supposed to refrain from further expansions after I y y z, but they did not joke about it. The sovereigns ruled ruthlessly i n the religio-political, even religious conditions of their territories, expanded them, stabilized them, and still collected benefices, church lands, high abbeys, the Saxon elector the bishoprics of Meifien, Merseburg, Naumburg, of the Brandenburg dioceses of Brandenburg, Havelberg and Lebus.

The lords brought their younger sons to the bishop's chairs, with the later Duke Julius von Braunschweig- Wolfenbüttel once proposing a two-year-old child as the future Bishop of Halberstadt. And the prince provided no fewer than four of his offspring and an unmarried daughter with church property.

They greedily seized monasteries, especially in northern and central Germany. Hundreds of religious houses fell to the Protestants, even if they were protected by conflicting regulations. But even on the other side of the Main line, in Wümemberg for example, where i q and i 5 male monasteries alone owned a third of the entire country, the "state" i j 36 took their property and chased away the monks w h o refused to "convert".

No attention was paid to promises, agreements or oaths. Elector Joachim 11 of Brandenburg had promised his father

ari Edes Statr pledged allegiance to Catholicism - similarly at his marriage to the daughter of the Polish King 5igismund - but made himself the supreme bishop of his country out of his own authority and also acted as if he had merely eliminated existing grievances and enforced good police in re1igion matters.

One bishopric after another was finally lost to Catholicism, *i 5 $6* Kamin, i y6i Magdeburg, i 6_54 Naumburg, in the same year Halberstadt, z5 66 Bremen and Verden, i J8I Mt-ifien, iy83 Minden, iy86 Lübeck and others. Large parts of Silesia also converted to the Reformation and almost all the bishoprics on the other side of the Oder.

In a memorandum on the ecclesiastical conditions of all German dioceses in 1888, the Roman diplomat Minucio Minucci, at the time their best expert at the Curia, distinguished between two types of oppression of German Catholics by the Protestants: a peaceful appropriation of Catholic church property and one that was very successful from the outset using open violence. There would be no end, writes Minucci, to the number of churches, monasteries and abbeys that were forcibly seized from the Catholics, to the number of monks and nuns who were driven from their properties and left to wander around homeless. He points out -that twelve of the empire's bishoprics had already been transformed into hereditary principalities, seven were in the hands of obvious Protestants, others in the possession of mere bfamens Catholics - and that no one foresaw the end of all this.

The Old Believers died out in the north. In Hamburg, Portugal's agent had to travel to Lübeck to receive the sacraments. In Lübeck, apart from the chapter, only the woman
of a newly devout tailor was Catholic. $s73$ There is said to have been only one Catholic left in Bremen, the senior of the Metropolitan Chapter.

Quite a few bishop's chairs were fought over; the powerful one in Münster, for example, was contested over a ten-year period.
-election campaign".

Duke Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg appeared before the cathedral chapter in Münster on•4 April i y8o with over iso horsemen

for the purpose of greater emphasis on his application - undoubtedly predestined for this. On the one hand, he already had two bishoprics. Secondly, he had been living with a lover, Anna Broich, in his Bremen palaces for a long time and had been duly married toher since * , while in Bremen itself Lutherans, in possession of just one church, and Calvinists were engaged in a heated war. Finally, the new-faith archbishop proved to be a successful hunter of Gentiles. In 583 alone, he had 63 people executed in his Osnabrück district, "including izi women in the city of Osnabrück". On y. May iy8o, Duke Johann Wilhelm von Kleve, who had been elected fifth bishop by the canons there six years earlier, at the age of twelve, also moved into Münster with around 3oo riders. But it was not until i 38 that Ernst of Bavaria decided the matter in his favor.

bloody enough {p.*34 ff.), while Johann Wilhelm, son of a daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I, married Princess Jacobäa von Baden, a zealous Catholic educated at the Munich court, who
He then had himself strangled for suspected adultery before he died (mentally ill), just like his father, who had become Lutheran before his confusion and then papist again.

Some dioceses changed denomination again and again.

Thus Paderbom became Lutheran in 56y, then Catholic through Bishop Jo- hann von Hoya, **then** Lutheran again through Duke Heinrich von Sachsen-Lauenburg, Archbishop of Bremen and Bishop of Osnabrück, the main opponent of Archbishop Ernst of Cologne, and finally Catholic again through Dietrich Theodor von Fürstenberg, a strict Jesuit pupil who had promised in his election capitulation in 85y that he would "dissolve the entire clergy" of the diocese.

-hey of their old true catholic religion".

As a zealous representative of confessional absolutism, this bishop re-Catholicized the diocese, which had been almost entirely Protestant under his predecessor and whose clergy had of course largely fallen prey to immorality and depravity (von Pascor). The Fürstenberger operated with intrigue, deception and violence, repeatedly driving citizens and peasants against the council, whereby he, as in 1600,

-wanted to be gracious to "the oppressed citizenry" - who did not f e e l oppressed at all, at least not by the council

-to offer a helping hand -. And after his capture of the city, he deprived Paderborn -at a stroke- of all the freedoms it had fought for in the course of four hundred years of history" {Schoppmeyer).

Bishop Dietrich Theodor put an end to local self-government, showered the Jesuits with donations, had the Protestant priests replaced by Catholics, had the mayor Liborius Wichari quartered {giabmal of the perpetrator, not the victim, in Paderborn Cathedral) and founded a Jesuit college, the Theodore Grammar School.

rianum-, from which z *4 the Jesuit college emerged, the first Westphalian university in the strict legal sense. It served the needs of the prince-bishopric, "above all the recruitment and securing of the next generation of priests5 for the diocese as well as

the defense against Protestant influences ... The use of higher education in Paderborn for the purpose of renewing the faith and strengthening the sovereign regiment was not an isolated case - {Schönemann).

The other dioceses in the west, Münster, Cologne, Mainz, Trier, also remained Catholic, as did those in the south. But wherever possible, the popes were pushed back, "expanded", "reformed", "secularized", "consolidated", "led to the new faith", "led to the Reformation", "took over the administration", "subordinated to sovereignty", which all sounds quite harmless, almost civilized. Electoral Saxony and Hesse l e d the way, followed by Prussia, the Margraviate of Ansbach and Bayreuth and the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

However, the Calvinists were also more active and more militant than the Lutherans in the empire, whose doctrine spread to almost all of Western Europe in just a few years, even if they only gained smaller territories from the Rhine to East Frisia, and only had Calvinist universities in Heidelberg, Hanau, Herborn and Bremen.

The "Reformed Church according to God's Word", also known as the "Second Reformation", was most successful thanks to the Lords of the Palatinate, whose state became the leading force among the Protestant imperial states. After the electors Friedrich II and Otr-

hcinrich became Lutheran, their successor Frederick **III** the Pious (i y5v-*576) switched from Lutheranism to Calvinism. Among other things, he promoted this through the -Heide1berg Catechism-, one of the most effective Calvinist confessional books still in use today {main author Melanchthon's pupil Zacharias Ursinus}, and he made Heidelberg University the most important German teaching institution of Calvinism.

Frederick III, as pious as he was clever and brutal, supported the new confession with many decrees, laws and church discipline regulations, whereby religious and political matters were particularly closely intertwined, the Count Palatine pursued a rigorous confessional uniformity and, as a valiant Reformed Christian, naturally supported other Christian faiths, papists, Lutherans5 Anabaptists; sectarians¢ as

• Abgötierei- hekämpfte, -z. ß. altars, olive-mounts, idols [images of saints], crucifixes - still frowned upon today in many Reformed congregations - in the churches and on t h e streets and in front of the churches, as well as sacrament houses, dewstones, white-water kettles and more such idolatrous works", which he also calls "vile" {cf. already 1 3. chap.) - to destroy" and also expressly orders to destroy "so that it can no longer be used for idolatry for all eternity ...- He summarily cut off the supply of wood and food to the city of Speyer because it did not expel the Jesuits.

His son, the next Elector Palatine, Louis VI (i 5y6-i 83), an orthodox Lutheran, reintroduced the former faith and **chased** the teachers and pastors appointed by his father out of the country. Ludwig's brother and successor, Count Palatine Johann Casimir (iy83-i yqm), however, returned to the Reformed Church and with him, in accordance with the decree of the Peace of Augsburg, his people, whereupon the exodus of the Lutherans began. Within one generation, the Palatinate thus changed denomination four times; no wonder, for a long time they hardly knew what they were supposed to "actually believe". However, not only had the Rhine Palatinate become the center of German Calvinism, but Calvinism in general had taken the lead in Protestantism over the Lucerneans in that age.

Wxs HxRR **FROM PASTOR** M El WITH

In the second half of the i 6th century, the Protestant faith spread more and more. Emperor Ferdinand 1 and his successor Maximilian II maintained tolerance towards the Protestants.

By f7, Germany was z* 7 percent Protestant, and Catholicism was on the retreat not only in the Reich, but in many parts of Europe. People no longer went to mass, confession or communion.

munion, the so-called chalice movement widely demanded communion in the form of bread and wine, even in the south of the empire. Catholics were increasingly heretized as "idolaters", Protestants as "enemies of the sacraments", as "desecrators of holidays".

And of course the innovators were usually blamed for the entire religious misery of the century, although there is no doubt at all that the roots of the Reformation lay in the papacy, in Roman Catholicism, in its clergy, its laity, its entire spiritual and profane existence - where else!

Even the historian of the popes acknowledges the disastrous state of the old church, but what else can he do? Of course, he exemplifies this relatively rarely, and when he does, it is *oh so* breathtakingly brief, while he never stops demonstrating what he believes and suggests is the sunny side of his protégés. In series, he is only too happy to present seemingly uplifting, radiant, "shining examples of tireless pastoral care" in the midst, as he casually interjects for the sake of -credibility-, his -objectivity-, -in the midst of the deep decline of the Italian episcopate as early as the time of Clement* VII".

Again and again, the "old blasphemed and dead church", the Catholica portrayed by its opponents - as the realm of the Antichrist and the cesspit of all decay - rises up in impressive vitality, - in its old bloom". In doing so, the praiser himself must again and again touch on the "evils", -the great abuses existing in church life, "the grave abuses",

the -decay-, the -true abysses of decay-, the -dissolution-
the loss of all discipline -, - in many cases unspeakably sad conditions", - almost atrocious conditions - . Again and again he is forced to admit t h a t "ecclesiastical discipline is in a bad state and the morals of the clergy and people are corrupt", that "quite a few bishops and popes are grossly neglecting their duties", -that religious neglect had risen throughout to an almost unbelievable degree-, that -a large part of the clergy had fallen into degeneracy and depravity-, that -the secular and religious clergy had sunk deep into immorality and ignorance-, -convents of nuns in
were terribly overgrown" etc. etc.

But although the apologist, ennobled by virtue of his thousandfold merits for salvation history and the papacy, mentions all this and more, even if, as I said, mostly only in outline, although he often has to mention at least a few things: -Deep moral damage was evident almost everywhere", -The reason for the people's lack of religious awareness lay above all in the ignorance of the priests", -The priests are so ignorant- (oh, if only they had been!), yes, although he by no means completely suppresses similar things, he can also in-sinueri again, it was b1o8 slanderers Protestants, "the innovators - who presented the Catholic clergy -as the source of all evil and tried in every way to make them contemptible".'*.

But if Ludwig von Pastor, as happens from time to time, documents small deficits, negatives of his Holy Church in more detail, then mostly by means of not Protestant, but of course Catholic testimonies, memoranda, nunciature reports. And even this still looks like this in a visitation report from the year i 56q 'about the famous Fossanova Abbey: The church was very spacious, it said, but lacked all its furnishings, the old choir stalls had been destroyed or had disappeared down to the last trace, the roof of the church had gaps so that it rained everywhere and the monks could not stand in the choir by the altar. The fourth part of the monks' house had collapsed and the rain was penetrating everywhere, which meant that the rest of the building must also be destroyed. The chapter house was still intact, but the glass in the windows was missing

or a cloth closure, and the cold and wind enter unhindered. It was the same with the windows of the church; in winter, the monks could not say their choir prayers there, nor could they say mass, because there was a risk that the wind would carry away the host. The chapel and the dormitory of St. Thomas Aquinas had no roof and were close to collapsing. It rained so heavily into the dormitory that the monks had to leave their cells and carry their beds elsewhere before the water came in. Things were no better in the other monasteries - if they were inhabited or habitable. In those
n the *7 Cistercian monasteries of central and lower Italy, there were only 56 Cistercians, spread over i i branches.

The failure of the old church and the rapid success of the new believers, which even the religious peace could not stop, provoked Catholicism to counteract, whereby Calvinism is said to have activated it more than Luther's Reformation. In any case, they wanted to regain what had been lost to the Reformation, holding on to the hierarchical order as well as to celibacy and the Latin Vulgate (see Chapter 3) - and ultimately attacked from the Alpine countries and the Duchy of Bavaria in the south and from the Archbishopric of Cologne in the west.

Here and there, the fiercely anti-Protestant Counter-Reformation, or "counter-revolution" in Marxist terms, was combined with a certain amount of reform, a more or less desired "reformation", with the help of state power. However, due to the lack of commitment on the part of most German bishops and the resistance of the cathedral chapters, this only happened in the i 58os and i 5gos in Hildesheim, Würzburg, Speyer, Paderborn and Münster. Yes
In Constance and Bamberg, the reforms only came in the early - 7th century, in many dioceses, in Salzburg, for example, and in Mainz, where the conditions of the monasteries were still - almost
were not even -to be borne - until after the Thirty Years' War - a phrase that is as popular as it is somewhat over-ambitious in view of the largely unfulfilled desiderata of the Council.

Moreover, the Catholic counter-offensive was not squeamish. Wherever it was possible and necessary, re-Catholicization was carried out by force, violently, by purging Protestants from the authorities, magistrates and guilds, by expelling Protestant preachers and teachers, by expelling notorious Lutherans, by expelling tracts, books
(which St. Ignatius occasionally entrusted to the furnace in Rome) as well as through visitations and the appointment of reliable Catholic clerics, especially Jesuits, who had already settled in the empire since the 1940s. Even more than some
The Society of Jesus now became the stoogite of the renewal that was often not at all desired, indeed only desired, especially sabotaged by cathedral canons, archdeacons, not infrequently even and especially by bishops, Loyola's disciples became the spearhead of the Counter-Reformation, a struggle that lasted in part until the middle of the *7thJ century."

6. KA PITEL

WORLDWIDE JESUIT AGITATION

-The ultimate purpose of the Jesuit Order is not the pious salvation of people's souls; its ultimate purpose, everywhere and always, on both a small and a large scale, is to *dominate the* finances, *the* family and *the state, and to gain a decisive influence on the course of world events. with politics.*
Paul Grsf von Hoensbroech'

• Almost all the kings and princes of Europe had "the Jesuits as their rulers, so that the whole of Europe became a Jesuit-ruled region.
seemed to be dominated -.
The Jesuit Cordara l i 8th century)'

-The secrets of all the governments of all Europe ... were in their (the Jesuits') hands. From one protestant country to another they crept in disguise, as cheerful cavaliers, as simple peasants, as puritanical preachers.
Thomas Babingtnn, Lord Macaulay of Rothley'

-The devil, the AdeJ and the *Jesuits* only exist as long as you believe in them.
Heinrich Htine-

The Jesuits vowed to fight for God under the banner of the cross and to serve the Lord alone and the Roman pope, his vicar on earth, indeed to obey without hesitation (sine ulla tergi- versatione ant excusatione) every command of the Vicar wherever he should send them. And indeed, the Society of Jesus (whose Spanish name - Compañia de Jesús - illustrates its military character) became probably the most important tool with which the papacy could at least partially make up for its enormous losses due to the Reformańon, wrest at least some conquests back from its constantly advancing opponent or even gain completely new territories for Rome. Their constant readiness and readiness for action, their intensive training and unconditional obedience, their subordination to the point of sacrificing their personal **self-interest** created good conditions for this.

Initially, the new order was not founded to defend against the Protestants, but rather focused on the education and dissemination of "piety", parish pastoral care, popular catechesis and, in particular, conscience-controlling confession. However, the Society soon became a major player in the Counter-Reformation and Restoration, having to fight the -heresy-, Luther, as the canonization bull for Loyola from *i 6zz* states, *-the abominable monster* (monstrum teterrimum) *and the* iżòri,gen rersòscfieuungsm'erfen P88t3ëf4ffien aliaequc dete- stabiles pestes), which had meanwhile taken over the whole of Central and Northern Europe. 1st but also according to Crétineau-Joly, the official historian of the Order, its -J-f'i "pimerfi ... the war against *heresy in Europe,* while -the missions are secondary {accessoires)- to him.

Thus the Jesuit propaganda centers spread throughout the countries in the 18th century. They established their colleges early on in certain Habsburg territories, in Upper Germany as well as on the Rhine, in Wieø, Graz, Innsbruck, in Munich, Augsburg, Dillingen, lngolstadt, Prague and Fulda, in Worms, Cologne, Aachen, Bonn, Emmerich, Hildesheim, Neuss, Dortmund, etc. - in German-speaking regions alone, there are still iy S colleges in İnnJ* *77 .

The systematic fight against reformation, the winning over of dissenters, the bullying of future generations in particular, in short, the pursuit of the sole rule of the Roman Church, whose new apostles were happy to use any means, even and especially the most militant ones, including the murder of "tyrants", became politically relevant. It goes without saying that this drove them less into the quarters of poverty and misery than to the key positions of the world, to the courts of princes as confessors, as advisors, influencers of royal elections, as mood-makers, educators of princes and poisoners of the ignorant, even in schools and universities.

Less well known, however, is that the prerequisite for attending university, at least in Spain, is purity of blood.

{The General Congregation of the Jesuits in Rome in 5Q3 excluded all members of Jewish **descent from** the Society of Jesus**,** the society of those who were Jews. And the 6th General Congregation demanded I6o8 proof of blood purity up to and including the fifth degree for admission."'

The young order expanded rapidly in the countries of the Romance south, which had remained loyal to the Pope, and in the Spanish Netherlands, where the authorities of the Roman counterpart provided sustained support. However, the Jesuits also consolidated their position within the Empire in later

In the 6th, early 7th century, they adopted the Catholic confession. And they established branches in France as well as in Poland and Hungary, and soon maintained hundreds of colonies in Europe, even acting as agents of the papacy on four continents.

tions. The order grew faster and faster. At the death of its founder, in the summer of i y 6, it had iooo members. When i y6y Father Laynez, the successor, died, there were already 3 yoo, in the year zsoo around 8 yoo, and i6do, after a century, i6 ooo Jesuits.^

IN ITALY AND PAxI EN

The influence of the Society first became apparent in Italy, where other older and younger religious orders freely attempted to revitalize the church, such as the Theatinep Barnabites, Somaskeq Ursulines and Capuchins.

Barely a dozen years old, the Jesuits were already in power under Paul III.

in Rome in May i 38, then in Venice, in Modena, Spiritu Sancto, ut pie creditur, afflati - at the instigation, it is to be assumed, of the Holy Spirit; and so the matter was immediately blessed. Still under this head of the Church, for the child-rich one-time "Cardinal Unterrock", with whose sister Giulia Pope Alexander VI. colonized (V 443 ff.!), the]ünger of St. Ignatius came far beyond Italy, they already appeared in Ma

rocco, Ireland, Scotland, yes, in the year of Paul III's death f49. in the New World, in Brazil. And soon they were not only in four earth

but, probably more importantly, at many European royal courts, in Valladolid, Brussels, Vienna*.

In Italy, by i 5 y6, the year of Igriatius' death, Jesuit colleges already existed in almost twenty cities, including Naples, Perugia, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Modena and Genoa.

The Collegio Romano was the model and example for all. Planned and founded by **Igna-** tius as a reaction to the Reformation and as an instrument of church reform, the Gregorian University, also run by Jesuits, emerged from it, making the Eternal City a university city. Until then, Rome had been more concerned with other things. Now the curriculum designed for the universities was to be shorter and better organized.

-the sciences", those **sciences** themselves-

understandable, -which are necessary for the service of God and the help of souls-'.

And miraculous miracles were quickly performed by Jesus' disciples.

For example, when the Jesuit Silvestro Landini i 54 8 attacked the "plague of Lutheran doctrine" in the diocese of Luni, the bi
In a testimony (the Jesuits insisted on this), he attested that he had "not a man but an angel of God in our midst". And when the Jesuit Salmeron had Lutheran books in Italian burned in Belluno, after which he received the sacraments more frequently, the entire city felt -reborn and completely renewed- through him, according to a documentary declaration.

In Palermo, the Jesuit Jerónimo Doménech became the confessor of the viceroy Juan de Vega and his patrons and had such a beneficial effect that Bishop Sebastiano de Aragón, the ln-quisitor for Sicily, together with his chaplains, made the "Spiritual Exercises", and St. Canisius saw the whole island undergoing a moral renewal. And the very next year there was a Jesuit college in Palermo.

In the mid-1940s, Loyola disciples Peter Faber (Le Fêvre) and Antonio Araoz rushed to Spain to receive a "warm letter of recommendation" from the previously afflicted Portuguese King John III to the Spanish hereditary prince Philip in Valla- dolid. And when his hot seat was moved to Madrid, he followed suit.
Araoz. He was a relative of Loyola, who appointed him54a as the first provincial of the Society for Spain, whose special guests i n c l u d e d the papal nuncio Giovanni Poggio and the Grand Inquisitor Diego Tavera.'°

Although the Jesuits faced strong competition from the Dominicans in Spain and Portugal, they nevertheless had the fastest access and the greatest resonance there. No wonder, since Spain was the homeland of their founder, which is where his main advisors and the first generals of the order came from. In general, the Catholic tradition was the least contested on the Pyrenean peninsula, and the Reformation was therefore the most unsuccessful.

In Toledo, the Jesuits were able to lure children into the streets with a handbell and - in an almost rat-catching manner - into the church for religious instruction. If small circles leaning towards Protestantism were tracked down, such as

5 f7 sy8 in Seville and Valladolid, they were instantly eliminated. It was not only Grand Inquisitor Fernando dc Valdés who intervened, but Paul IV himself, who at the time, only shortly before his death,

The French envoy was told that heresy was such a serious crime that if a person was even slightly tainted with it, there w a s no other remedy than to hand him over to the fire immediately, regardless of whether he held the highest rank." Thirteen people fell in this way on zi. May i y 5q in Valladolid, including three priests, five women and one Jew; one "heretic" was burned alive.

This was a fate that well-known Protestants also suffered.

Paul's successors in Italy. The canonized Pius V, who himself, like Paul, was a frequent visitor to the Inquisition sessions, organized one auto-da-fé after another in Rome; pious new believers had their heads cut off or were taken to the gallows before they too were incinerated.

In Portugal, where the Jesuits would have liked to be entrusted with the Inquisition Tribunal and Ignatius himself was very much in favor of it, the Cardinal-Infante and Grand Inquisitor Henry was interested in their concerns - as he was in his own. And his brother Infante Ludwig would have preferred to become a Jesuit himself. '

Society in Portugal experienced an enormous upswing, especially under John III. The king, under whom whole armies of black slaves and mulattoes toiled, the people, oppressed by taxes, suffered and the rich lived in almost unimaginable luxury from the "colonies" {there were 3o jewelers in Lisbon aloneJ, King John not only asked Paul III for Jesuits for the East Indies, but also gave them a hundred young nobles educated at court for spiritual care. He established

The Order i yd z in Lisbon, 54- a college in Coimbra and paid it several thousand ducats a year.

f45 Wilde was one of Ignatius' first companions, the Portuguese Simon Rodriguez de Azevedo, who was highly respected by the king, was the heir to the crown prince and in the following year the first provincial of
Portugal. However, -'mifistands- quickly set in, Rodriguez
ris• was dismissed, and the new provincial, Diego Miron, dismissed more than half of all members.

IN GERMANY ANd GERMANY D

For more than a decade, the Jesuits fought doggedly for the founding of a college in Paris and for their admission to France - with Pope Pius IV at their side, and the French King Henry II.But the Archbishop of Paris, Eustache du Bellay, all the priests of the metropolis, the parliament and the university, who threatened students with the loss of all rights and privileges for attending Jesuit lectures, were against them; as was an expert opinion b y theologians, who found the name of the society offensive and classified it as dangerous for the faith, as a disturber of church peace, a destroyer of the religious order, as more destructive than constructive.

They were attacked with pasquilles, satires, stones and pulpit sermons, these "packs of scoundrels". But after many years of prohibition, they were admitted and founded colleges year after year under Pius IV in Tournon, Rodez, Toulouse, Mauriac, Avignon, Chambéry, Lyon, and in the early seventies more under Pius V, when the Jesuits Antonio Possevino and Oliver Manaräus converted z5oo Huguenots and 4ooo Calvinists.

On i. September i 6o3, the Edict of Rouen - the city where Joan of Arc was once burned to death (VIII z o ff!) u@57• five hundred Protestants - confirmed eleven existing Jesuit branches in France. And in the very first year after the edict was published, the Society founded more than a
half a dozen other bases."

Petrus Canisius, the son of the mayor of Nym- wegen, was important for the spread of the order and the strengthening of Catholicism in the empire - where Lutheranism {not so much Calvinism) was also rapidly taking on restorative traits. He was almost given the unofficial honorary title of a second apostle of Germany, but was also officially honored, canonized, even elevated to the status of Doctor of the Church, as all popes had done so far

The -fromme Niederländer", as a church-political advisor a central figure of the Counter-Reformation, for which he wanted bishops like Athanasius, Ambrosius, Cyrilos, cunning men of power, for whom success was above all {cf. 1 366ff, jgq ff., II i 56ff.1), and coveted princes like Constantine, a high-profile criminal (cf. 1 5th chapter!), Canisius met Petrus Fa- ber in Mainz, who - s43, at the age of z3, accepted him into the order.
took up. From his father's inheritance, the saint financed the following
Between i 556 and i 69, he founded half a dozen other permanent seats of the Society, first in Prague and Ingolstadt, then in Munich, Innsbruck, Würzburg and Hall. Canisius was trained by Ignatius in Rome, was an educator in Messina, cathedral preacher in Augsburg, theologian in Ingolstadt, in Vienna and at the Vatican Council. He maintained personal relations with Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII, he was advisor to Emperor Ferdinand in Innsbruck and confidant of the Bavarian dukes, under whom the Jesuit Order flourished most rapidly in Germany (cf. p. f37 ff., zoi ff.). The saint traveled west
and northern Germany, acted on German and Polish imperial
and also took part in religious debates.

His **printed works had** an enormous influence in the fight against the Reformation**;** his catechisms, especially the "Catechismus minor", which was published in Cologne in 558 and was widely translated during his lifetime, reaching over soo editions in the German-speaking world. At least equally important in the Catholic attack on "heresy" were the numerous colleges that Canisius eagerly founded, including in Prague, in Fribourg, where

he died in 1857, pro-

pagandist bastions, with which he contributed decisively to the restoration of the Roman Church, to which he was always loyal.

Wßf.'*

The Jesuit houses in the empire were supported by the German College in Rome, since i y8o Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, a foundation of Ignatius i y z for the accommodation of students, not least the sons of German noble families. It was the first Roman seminary for foreigners and a model for many other such institutes in Rome, a Greek, Maronite, English, Scottish and Irish college. Its alumni were primarily drilled to fight against heresy and usually had to take an oath to return to their country of origin after their training, where they often took up high ecclesiastical positions, although they could also end up in executioner's hands, usually a Christian one.

I" POLAND AND SWEDEN

The Reformation had penetrated Poland with the help of the nobility and the magnates, whose power over the kingdom was constantly growing. On the other hand, in hardly any other country was Protestantism so divided, splintered into Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren and anti-Trinitarians. ZWdr guaranteed x57s the war confederation to all these people seeking a union.
groups tolerance. For the time being, however, political and religious anarchy prevailed and promoted the infiltration of the Society of Jesus.

Pope Paul IV sent his nuncios, and he sent them together with Jesuits. Thus I§5 y Nuncio Luigi Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, together with the Jesuit Salmeron, one of Ignatius' first companions, appeared before King Sigismund August in Vjlnß. In 1558, Nuncio Mentuato, accompanied by the Jesuit Canisius, came to Petrikau during the Polish Diet, which led to suspicions of surveillance and triggered protests. Paul IV's successor Pius N. also launched the Disciples of the Lord. And his legate Giovanni

Francesco Commendone, a shrewd, restless diplomat, achieved - after presenting himself to Emperor Ferdinand I and King Maximilian 11 in Preburg - the expulsion of all foreigners who had entered the country for reasons of confession and who were working for the renewal of faith, and also achieved the acceptance of the resolutions of the Council of Trent, which had just ended, and thus the beginning of a turnaround in Poland, for which he received the purple two years later, in 565."

The numerous anti-Roman denominations were unable to come to an agreement. The high nobility gradually leaned towards the Roman Church again, their places of worship were no longer reformed and the schools of the Society of Jesus were increasingly attended.

-The Jesuits worked tirelessly in the pulpit, in the confessional, in religious discussions, in catechism classes for young and old, in popular missions as well as in schools and seminaries. They learned the Lithuanian and Latvian languages, cultivated the spoken and written Polish language, which was spreading on the coasts of Latin, and demonstrated the triumph of the renewal of faith begun in Rome in their baroque churches."

A lasting supporter of the *1 "uites* was also the son of an emigrant German, Stanislaus Hosius, royal g o v e r n o r in Prague, Vienna, Brussels, i 5qq bishop, i 5öi cardinal, author of a much-published and widely translated "Confessio catholicae fi- dei christiana". Hosius clearly recognized the importance of the Jesuits, especially their schools, and gave them a college in his episcopal city o f ß r a u n s b e r g in i y65, quickly setting an example for other colleges in Pultusk, Vilnius, Poznan, **Plock** (Plozk), Yaroslav, Polotsk, a centre of Catholic agitation.

Still in Livonia, which was fought over bloodily for a quarter of a century, from i 558 to t y8z, the Order had established itself and founded branches far to the northeast, in Riga and Dorpat, and had also bribed the rebellious citizens of Riga for 5oooo gold pieces, until it and its Polish followers were expelled by Charles IX, a little later the Swedish king.

After all, in the East, especially in Poland, Jesuit college after Jesuit college were now lining up, which was of considerable

importance there during the march of the Catholic front."

Sweden was also to play its role in salvation history, Sweden was also to be re-Catholicized and won back for Rome, and by no means only for religious reasons.

The situation seemed favorable insofar as x y6g Gustav Vasa's second son, John III (i y68-r 5q z), had been enthroned in Sweden after the deposition of his brother Erich XIV and m a r r i e d to the sister of the last Polish Jagellonian king Sigismund II, the Catholic Catherine, who had had the sole right to practice her religion vested in her at her marriage. And since King John also wanted to win the Polish throne, he pursued a church policy aimed at reconciliation with Catholicism, and both the Pope and the Jesuits, who were in excellent harmony at the time, had high hopes of the personal union of a Sweden that had become Catholic with Poland in the event of an attack on Russia, an age-old curial concept.

Thus in Sweden in the 1970s, under Pope Gregory XIII (57**I§85), the actual ideological head of the Roman Restoration, some Jesuits operated in disguise, albeit on the orders of the prince who supported his Protestants. As at the end of

December i 577 the Italian Jesuit Antonio Possevino, secret secretary of his general Mercurian, with two brothers of the order, again not recognizable as Jesuits, but in secular dress

came to Sweden to "convert" the king.

It is said that Possevino initially had scruples about interfering in politics in this way, or at least pretended to. But remarkably, Pope Gregory allayed his concerns by pointing out how closely political business was linked to religious business! Of course, every Holy Father knew that. And now even the militant merchant's son Ugo ßoticompagni, who provided the Catholic League against the Huguenots with stimulating financial injections, also enthusiastically celebrated the slaughter of St. Bartholomew's Day and personally called for the conspiracy to assassinate the English queen.

During his five-month stay, Possevino himself confessed, "hardly a day went by without a conversation with the king - which often lasted three or four hours.

The monarch wanted concessions, the marriage of priests, the evening meal in both forms, the ban on invoking the saints. However, Possevino i s7 -imłich was able to convert him, especially as he had been under severe pressure of conscience since the poisoning of his brother only a year earlier. However, since Possevino's identity had become known, he left the country as a Swedish envoy in May *57, but **returned** the following year**,** meanwhile being welcomed back by the grateful
Gregory was given *extensive* powers as **Vicar** Apostolic for the whole of Scandinavia and all neighboring states.

It became apparent, however, that John III had become Catholic primarily for reasons of state and was no longer so keen to remain so, let alone convert his country; after all, in February i 585, soon after the death of his Polish wife, in the year of Gregory's death, he had married the sixteen-year-old Gunil- la ßielke, an active Lutheran. They even feared for John's son, Crown Prince Sigismund III. Vasa), King
of Poland - 5 7*I63 z) and of Sweden (i qz-i $ ÿq). But the Jesuits, his educators, his confessors; made a staunch Catholic out of him, who supported the Counter-Reformation in Poland (not in
Sweden!), which even occupied Moscow and stood by the Habsburgs in the Three Years' War.'-.

The Jesuits were also close friends with Stephan IV. Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland 57d-xy86), where re-Catholicization was now progressing particularly rapidly. Highly qualified in military matters, full of loathing for Rutland, the "barbarian country", as he liked to say, he was a fierce defender of the
Restoration and Counter-Reformation beyond Poland, nothing less appealed to him than the conquest of Russia - at that time internally torn and embroiled in serious battles, also in foreign policy - in order to then destroy the Ottoman Empire from a Polish Moscow. Jesuit Possevino thus already saw in Báthory the new
-KarÍ the Cossacks". And Jesuit Arato6, the king's friend, reported from Rome that he was expected to crush all Russians and Tartars under his feet {omnes Moscos et Tataros sub pedibus contereret).

His advance against the -wild people- inn Somme- 579. i*-

his apparent triumphal march was therefore accompanied with sympathy and decisively supported in the Vatican, despite the fact that the church union, the union of the Russian Orthodox Church with the Roman Church, was and still is a centuries-old goal of the Vatican.

The Pope ordered the Polish bishops to support the company in every way, ordered prayers for the king, the soldiers and victory - remember the curial policy in the Second World War - and the nuncio in Poland had to accompany the invaders as close as possible for the sake of rapid, reliable reports from the front. And after the capture of the town and fortress of Polock (Polotsk) on
q. September, a sign, as it was known on the Jesuit side,
-the divine wisdom and goodness-, the grateful pontiff sent the Polish ruler a sword consecrated on Christmas night as an expression of respect and probably also of further expectations.

But in Polock, this outpost against Russia, B6thory decided to establish a Jesuit college immediately after his victory. If he had founded such a college in Vilnius, which was far to the east, Poland as a whole was under his control.
quickly became a Jesuit province of its own. It was no coincidence that he always had two Jesuits at his side during the advance, his confessor and his court preacher, and of course these gentlemen harbored the same hope that their friar Possevino then expressed in a letter of May i J 8 x to Cardinal Como. May i J 8 x to the Cardinal Secretary of State Como, namely that - "the whip of the King of Poland"
{sara la sfena del re di Polonia) was the best way to introduce catechism, i.e. Catholicism, to Russia. Thus the campaign was vigorously continued and every "success" at the front was celebrated with a thanksgiving service in Rome, although in late summer i 8 i they g o t stuck outside Pskov.*°

Dix Uxiox vox BREST

However, what was not obtained through war was now sought by diplomacy. In 58i, Possevino traveled with four members of the Order on a papal mission to Ivan IV. Groznyi (the Terrible, actually: the Fearful), Grand Prince of Moscow and Tsar of Russia. But the "schismatic tyrant" never dreamed of a union, and when on February zi. February r y8x, at an audience in the Kremlin, the question of reunification was discussed, which led to a scandal. Ivan IV recalled the evil lives of some of the successors of the Prince of the Apostles, and Possevino thought that popes were like great princes, there were good ones and bad ones. Ivan then shouted that the pope was not a shepherd but a wolf and g r a b b e d his sceptre, with which he had recently murdered his own son. Although he calmed down again, he i n s i s t e d that the pope could be worshipped like God - Christian wolves among themselves.

Possevino's idea of reunification failed in Russia as it had previously failed in Sweden. And the union plans in the Orient under Sixtus V { r y8 y-r y9o) also failed completely. In Constantinople, all the Jesuits involved succumbed to the plague in 1986, as did the Capuchins who replaced them; an attempt to convert the Sultan almost resulted in their leader's martyrdom.

Naturally, society also fought against the Orthodox in Poland. Although there was hardly any joking about the unflufiless masses, they wanted to make the Ukrainian-Belarusian aristocracy all the more stubbornly Catholic. The most important families, the Sluckyj, the Ostroékyj were observed so closely, the domestic circumstances were precisely determined, long reports were written, in short, all means were used to win over at least some of the most powerful people there.

The Union of Brest (Belarus) of the Ruthenian or Ukrainian-Belarusian Church with Rome - today represented by the Ukrainian Catholic Church - was also concluded in 5 ss6.

- had been prepared especially by the]esuites, was above all their work and their triumph, which is why one of their own, the

The eloquent Polish court and Reichstag preacher Peter Skarga preached the sermon of praise and thanksgiving. Of course, this union, which was sanctioned by both church and state law, was only the first step towards Latinization, the complete subjugation of the Orthodox Church to the Roman Church, and not only that of the Ukrainian-Venetian people in Poland and Lithuania, but even more so of the Great Russian people in Russia.

Clement VIII (i y9a-x 6oy), who was particularly interested in Eastern Europe and the Church Union, was happy about the recognition of papal primacy by the Orthodox bishops of Poland. -Nothing is dearer to us-, he exulted in a letter to the Polish king of y. February i yg 6, -than to lead back to the sheepfold the strayed cliafe entrusted to us.- Of course, he was not entirely happy. There was widespread opposition from the Ukrainian-Vichirussian population against their treacherous chief shepherds, these -wolves in sheep's clothing- who had defected to Rome out of opportunism and greed for power. The Ukrainian monk Ivan Viiensky cried out passionately: -Don't trust the Roman Pope and the whole lying Latin clerisy! Trust the peaceful homeland, not the king and all the followers of the Roman papacy! Mifitraut them today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow! Do not trust them in the future either, and not for all eternity. - And the Orthodox bishops of Lviv and Przemysl broke away from the Uniates and convened their own synod in Brest, where they solemnly declared a church union in October 5q6 and excommunicated each other, so that from then on two Ukrainian churches were at war with each other for centuries.

However, Rome's attempts to gain a firm foothold in the East and to force Russia under papal sovereignty continued and culminated only a few years later in a scarcely believable rogue coup, again with the help of the Jesuits.

EIH WORLD HISTORICAL
SCHM IEREi'4THEATER
ROME PUTS A WRONG FACT in MosxaU
TSARS ON THE THRONE

The spectacle began in i5q8 with the death of Tsar Fyodor I, son and successor of Ivan IV Groznyi, and the end of the old Ruri- kid dynasty (since 86z). It is the time of the Smuta, of the ravages, of severe famines and a huge peasant uprising, whose leader Ivan Issaevich Bolomikov (who was then executed) was the first in Russia to attempt a social upheaval, which the nobility, boyar nobility, service nobility and monasteries could only put down together.

In those days, an adventurer appeared, probably the Grishka Otrepyev or Hryszka, as the contemporary Jesuit chronicle calls him, but who pretended to be Dmitri Ivanovich, Tsar Ivan IV's youngest son, who, however, was already z ygx had died at the age of eight under circumstances that were never fully clarified. In conjunction with the Papal *Nuotius* Rangoni, the Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski, and the Jesuit Lawicki, the false Demetrius I now asserted his claim to the Russian throne, a plan that the Jesuits had greatly encouraged and apparently even concocted. After all, the impostor himself, Pseudo-Dmitri, was their creature, as his correspondence with the Society of Jesus shows. And after he had become a Roman Catholic and King Sigismund III (Vasa) had also recognized him as tsar in 604, he sent Pope Clement VIII a humble letter of submission with appeals for help to obtain his •Empire" - and w e n t to Moscow with an army. -Two Jesu- ites, including his constant 'guardian angel' Lawicki, accompanied him on his campaign. They made sure that the false tsar did not deviate from the path he had conjured up, which was prescribed for him by Rome and the Polish feudal-clerical clique. The Jews were also prepared to support him materially, as the Dutchman Isaak Massa, who was in Moscow at the beginning of the i yth century, recounts. They, like the pope, were not allowed to be in Moscow for a long time.

whose order they acted, for the Catholicization of Russia "no price is too high" (Winter).

When the false Demetrius was enthroned in Moscow, the Holy Father Clement VIII had already passed away, but the Holy Father Paul V { i So5-i 6zi), previously an inquisitor and not at all squeamish, continued the world-historical hoax. In the summer of i6oy, he thanked the Cardinal of Krakow: "You are doing a very pleasant thing for us" and warmly congratulated his beloved son Demetrius, Lord of Russia, on regaining the throne.

The pope, who later placed Copernicus on the Index, but put an out-and-out crook on the tsar's throne, soon chased one brother after another to Moscow, spoke fondly of "miraculous grace", called the new prince there a -second Constantine- and urged him on ro. April i6oö: - because you are able to do anything you want with your people, command them to recognize the governorship of Christ! We bless your pious thoughts with apostolic authority".

However, as splendidly as the matter had been arranged for the greater glory of God in Rome and Krakow, they had overreached themselves somewhat and had certainly not made a small calculation without the *win.* The cardinal from Poland also wanted to place his clan in the splendor of tsardom and sought to strengthen the ties between Rome and Krakow.

- Moscow even closer and, without further ado, concluded a holy matrimony between his relative Marina Mniszka and the false Dmitri - albeit a short-lived happiness. The Poles' overly arrogant appearance and their sheer boundless greed provoked Moscow's popular fury to such an extent that on zq. May i 6o6, a fortnight after the coronation, the false tsar was in the gutter - and with him any hope the Holy Father had for Russia.

But hard to believe: soon afterwards, the gangster play was repeated, again - at the Polish border - a false de- metrius appeared. Again, Polish and counter-reformatory prices were behind it. Again, a campaign was led as far as Moscow, but this time it only reached the city, which Tsar Vasily IV. Shuisky held, but without being able to defeat the second false Dmitri. The latter resided outside the gates, in the camp of

Tusino, then called the "Thief of Tusino", and Marina recognized the new impostor as her former husband and sent her brothers to Rome with a message to that effect, whereupon the Curia also played along with this deception.

But when the Swedish King Charles XI placed i y ooo warriors at the disposal of the Grand Prince of Moscow and the King of Poland, provoked by his Swedish rival, now stretched out his hand to Moscow, the Pope immediately dropped the false Dmitri, who had hitherto been the object of Rome's great applause, and now expected the Polish King to conquer Moscow. There was no more glorious and meritorious undertaking, the Cardinal Secretary of State enticed; and the Pope himself continued to incite the Pole to conquer the whole of Russia, supported him financially, demanded his financial support from the Polish episcopate and ordered the nuncio Francesco Simonetta closer to the theater of war. -It was a question of deciding whether the whole of Europe would succumb to the Counter-Reformation or whether it would be decisively defeated here" (Winter), although, as so often, if not usually, confessional politics played a lesser role than power politics.

In September i öio the Polish army entered the Kremlin through treachery, and the patriarch of Moscow, Hermogen, who refused to crown the Polish king as tsar, starved to death in prison in February i6i z, celebrated as a "true shepherd and teacher -, as a lion-hearted defender of his flock -gepen the wolves and robbers".

A year earlier, entire districts of Moscow had been burnt to the ground in an ahtarid and thousands of people had perished in the flames. But in October i 6i a, Russian troops occupied the Kremlin. A few months later, the young Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov became tsar. The Polish onslaught and the Roman curial desires for union had completely failed, as if blown away, but what remained w a s an abysmal hatred of Poland and its Jesuits for "destroying the true faith, spreading the Latin faith and heresies throughout the Russian Empire".

IN SOUTH ANd INDIA

At the end of the reign of Gregory XIII (*57*- s8ş), the Jesuits had eight branches in Mexico and, according to the order's annual reports, an incredibly rich harvest.

Further south, Ma- nuel da Nóbrega stood out in the spread of Christianity.

i 5Sq as Superior to open the Jesuit mission in Brazil, he became Provincial for the whole of Latin America in the 1950s. Already at that time, four Jesuit foundations were established in Brazil and the best hopes were pinned on the return of the "savages", as Ludwig von Pastor said, while the Christians there were called "dogs" and treated "like dogs". -Slave hunts (saltos) were organized among them, they were lured onto ships under pretexts, sailed away and sold. But the owners cared little for the welfare of the slaves; they were sucked dry and buried on the shingle yard after their death. Indian women were even more frequently exploited. White women had only come over from Europe in small numbers, real marriages with people of color were not considered decent, and so the result of these conditions was a terrible lack of morals (cf. I. chap., esp. p. 47).

Everything was expected from the power and dignity of a prelates. But it was precisely after the arrival of Bishop Pedro Fernan- dez Sardinha in the summer of i yş z and his Portuguese **clerics,** who were known moral thugs, that things got even worse and everything that had been achieved so far was ruined again. The bishop himself fell i 55ö, writes von Pastor, "into the hands of the savages and was devoured." This too for sure: ad maiorem Dei gloriam.

Of course, the disciples of Jesus continued the war against the dis- hassled Protestants in the New World. x y6o Nóbrega, together with the Indians of the Jesuit settlements, expelled the French Hugcnotren from Rio de Janeiro. He also significantly promoted the porrugiesi colonization policy. Although he initially promised the Indians freedom a n d recommended the introduction of the Inquisition to free the slaves, he eventually allowed

"forced indigenous reductions-, the use of all those Indians for slave labour who did not want to be colonized nocii missio-nized.'*.

The so-called reduc- ciones (reductions), the Christian Indian villages foundedi 7 *lrld in the 8th century - settlements under missionary leadership - were and still are highly praised.

rian direction, especially the settlements in Paraguay. The earliest of these, around i 58o, were the Franciscan "reducciones", while the Jesuit settlements were first established from i 6io onwards, although they were more protected {not everywhere successfully} than the Franciscan settlements against the feared "encomenderos", Portuguese settlers9

Land raiders and slave hunters.• 73 z ilt 3Z Reductions yo Jesuits i Zoooo Guarani with the blessings of European civilization, especially Christianity. There were clashes

There was the war of the "saviors", the Jesuits against Guarani shamans, there were slave hunts in which villages were destroyed by the dozen. There were growing political

tensions, and eventually the Society of+ Jesu• 7 y was expelled from all territories under the control of the Spanish king. The reductions, especially those of the Guarani in Paraguay, were regarded as

-happy Christianity , a -reduction through the Gospel- um-. Not only the Jesuits saw this as "the reawakening of the original Christian communities"; even Voltaire spoke of a "triumph of humanity". But all of this overlooks the lack of subjugation of those in need and recipients of help, the lack of subordination, of religious, social and political dependence on those who always and everywhere had, indeed retained, the power of decision when the opponents were already competent themselves. Even the Catholic Dictionary of Theology and Church admits this in the face of so many glorifications: -Such judgments, however, obviously misjudge negative sides of the system, which was strongly characterized by the paternalism of the SJ and the imposition of certain forms of public and religious life." ^

The "missionary work" in the East Indies also involved certain -progress" was hindered by the Portuguese Christians living there, who ruthlessly exploited the locals.

sometimes kept hundreds of slaves and had stately harems.

St. Nicholas Lancilotti, who corresponded with Ignatius, reported from the so-called Fishermen's Coast that "it is hard to describe the damage caused by the Bcamten; what the missionaries had accomplished in many years would be destroyed by their greed in a few months; there was a danger that all the Christians of the Fishermen's Coast would fall away again". And St. Francis Xavier {Francisco de Jassii y Javier), a Basque aristocrat and again one of the first Ignatian companions, who had traveled i yq i to the East Indies, to Goa, then to the back Indies, Malacca, to the Moluccas, i 5 5 i becoming provincial of the Indian Jesuit province, confessed to King John III of Portugal, "he
He 'flew' to Japan so as not to waste his time in India; it was a 'martyrdom' to have to watch everything that had been built up with great effort being destroyed again.

Of course, the Jesuits themselves were not only active as preachers, confessors and seducers of souls, but also as enterprising businessmen. Thus it says in a report by the head of the French trading company in Pondicherry, Martin: - It is a foregone conclusion that, next to the Dutch, the Jesuits have the strongest and most successful trade in the East Indies. In this they preceded the English and other nations, even the Portuguese ...-

The Jesuit acquisitiveness was so engaging that several popes took action against it; thus Urbari VIII - who of course himself paid homage to a scandalous nepotism and even in the last few years of his life waged war against Odoar do Farnese for the greed of his nephews, the Barberini, the richest landlords of the Papal States, for his Duchy of Castro {p. y 66). And Pope Clement IX renewed the ban on trade in the constitution -Sol- licirudo pastoralis- OF June 7, *i 669*; certainly also for other, but only generally mentioned orders, while the Society of Jesus is mentioned a total of nine times.'-.

The Jesuits must have been particularly appealing to highly civilized peoples such as the Index Japanese Chinese, who were clever enough to accept the caste system in India as well as Confucius worship and ancestor worship in China. But even in Japan, where under Gregory **XIII.**
{i yyz-i 585) founded several branches, success was initially lacking, and some conversions to the only true religion may *have been* brought about by the somewhat older Portuguese trade relations. As a result of thirty years of work and danger, a Jesuit summed up i y8o that "now and then a lame, crooked, leper converted. Of course, this only applies to one area. The order claims to have saved "a few thousand souls" in Japan year after year, and towards the end of the iöth century, the number of Christians there is said to have reached 300. By the end of the eighteenth century, the number of Christians there is said to have grown to **300**,000, soon to double that figure and more.

But there was also persecution, the bloodiest pogrom in i6iq with thousands of martyrdoms. And at first, Francis Xavier probably earned more laughter and scorn than genuine interest in his message of the cross, no matter how passionately he advocated it. When he left iyyi Japan, only a few hundred people had been won over. And shortly after entering China, Franz Xaver died, on December 3, i yyz - and his body remained completely undecomposed, indeed "not yet crumbled into dust ..."

We can trust this tradition just as much as the miraculous event that once happened to the Apostle of India between the islands of Amboina and Boranura. For: -On that occasion it happened that his little crucifix, which accompanied him on all his journeys, fell into the sea; after hours, when Xavier had landed on the island of Boranura, a crab, with the crucifix between its claws, swam to the shore, stood still before Xavier, who took it on his knees, and then returned again.- We, too, can accept this as trustingly as Franz Xaver accepted his cross from the resourceful crab, as it is reported in a church encyclopedia, which - as it is emblazoned on every title page of the eleven-volume work - "was compiled with the help of the church.

kung der ausgezeichiietsten katholischen Gelehrten Teutschlands" and, moreover, -with the approval of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Freiburg-.'°

When the two Jesuits Matreo Ricci, founder and since5 97) head of the modern Chinamissioii, and Michele Ruggieri I y83 were granted a residence permit in China on the basis of their language skills and their technical and scientific talent, they traveled in Buddhist monk's robes and adapted to the country's customs and traditions wherever possible. In particular, they emphasized commonalities between Christianity and the worship of Confucius, even interpreting Christianity as the fulfillment of Confucianism. Ricci, in Beijing since i6o i, was able to baptize relatives of the emperor and build a church, while the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell rose to first-class mandarin and became director of the Astronomical-Mathematical Office in Beijing, which remained in Jesuit hands until the end of the i 8th century.

remained.

But despite its temporary influence on the imperial court, the impact of Christianity on China, where it had first penetrated in the early Middle Ages through Lyrian and Persian merchants via the Seventh Dynasty as the Church of the -Nestorians-, and then again in the late Middle Ages under the tolerant Mongol khans, remained very limited. Nevertheless, various vedolgies and re

The Kangxi emperors granted the same rights to the foreign religion *a* few years after the Kangxi emperors granted the same rights to the foreign religion.

Taoism and Buddhism, 3ooooo members.

Jesuit Matteo Ricci, for the Chinese, it is said, "the great man from Europe", thus initiated the modern Christianization of the vast empire. In doing so, he initially - proselytized - by avoiding Christianity as much as possible, not making the church appear as a church, but only as a "house in which one preaches". In the beginning, he also appeared less as a missionary than as a scholar, who impressed with Western science, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, geography, philosophy and music, but treated religious matters with great caution and -with

still held back the secrets of Christianity". He, on the other hand, finished off Buddhism and spared Confucius.

The adaptation to Chinese rites was initially controversial among the Jesuits. Ricci's successor Niccolõ Longobardi rejected it, but the Society then permitted sacrifices to Confucius, certain types of ancestor worship, participation in pagan cults, and so on. However, several religious orders, Dominicans, Franciscans and Lazarists, fought against this, and the dispute, the so-called Rites Controversy, exacerbated by religious rivalries and ecclesiastical political controversies, continued for over a century, with the popes also adopting opposing positions and supporting various sects. Paul V allowed r 6zi approaches to Confucianism, but several of his successors made contrary decisions, such as Clement XI Iyo4 and *7* 5 Yes Benedict XIV (who had good relations with Frederick II of Prussia and was himself appreciated by Voltaire)
Pius XII demanded that every missionary to China take a solemn oath on the ban - and Pius XII revoked all the decrees of his predecessors."

ScHxiN uxD **SEU AND FIRST UNFINDINGS**

The new order was to be contemporary, adapted to the latest circumstances - adaptation was one of its most important forms of behavior, adaptation upwards, downwards, in all directions; not as an end in itself, of course, but as a path to success, as a means to power. In this way, people adapted to the respective addressee and appeared to be more or less willing to adapt, depending on the situation.

In Ireland, the first Jesuits were, according to a threefold admonition from Ignatius, to "make themselves as comfortable as possible to the Irish and
'become everything to everyone'. And it was also about something similar when -7 74 some fathers were delegated to Lucerne and the Upper German

Provincial recommended to adapt as much as possible to the simplicity of the people in everything. -Reproachful expressions should be avoided in the sermons; love and supplication should prevail. Also, the proofs of the heretics should not be gone through, but the Catholic doctrines should be impressed upon the minds, solid, popular and short, not too learned. The same applies to catechesis. They should be modest in their demands, learn the language well, not leave women out except for confession. They should not quarrel with the priests and the clergy in general, nor should they touch on their faults for the time being. By t h e i r deeds, all should recognize that they seek nothing for themselves, but only the salvation of souls." In fact, they sought nothing less than the salvation of souls, and nothing more than success for themselves.

On the surface, however, it was always about the salvation of souls, the beautiful appearance. "The image that the Society of Jesus presents to the world is an appearance: but one must see the face that is hidden behind the scenes" (Tondi). When the Jesuir Claude Le Jay at the court of Duke Ercole II of Este in Ferrara was to " convert" the Duchess Renata (daughter of Louis XII" sister-in-law Francis I of France, who was occasionally even imprisoned as a "heretic"), who was involved in Calvinist heresy, Ignatius instructed him to regard the Duke as his true and only superior.

In India, of course, the poorest of the poor were assimilated, St. Francis Xavier, the former Navarrese nobleman, walked around with bare feet and torn clothes. Even when a king of the country gave him a lot of money, he distributed it to the poor - but nevertheless built almost fifty churches along the coasts!

If pomp and pageantry were expected, this could also be used as an excuse. When Gregory XIII received a delegation of Japanese Christians in the year of his death in 585, the Jesuits had also encouraged them to show off to the people from the Far East with the "much higher culture of the West and the splendor of the Catholic Church".

It goes without saying that you should be particularly sensitive when dealing with people in high places, and should inform yourself thoroughly before getting down to business. So when 15 '7 the young Juan de

Polanco SJ in Florence, because he wanted to help Duke Cosimo and the Duchess in an overly know-it-all manner, Ignatius argued that such a thing should only be done once one had gained the affection, trust and respect of such rulers, and humiliated him.

The promising appearance was important, the means to an end, to power, to which everything was geared here. After all, the entire constitution of the Order served "to dominate entire social circles, courts and states" {Brandi}. And a rigorous principle of obedience served this purpose even more, which went and goes so far that the Jesuit must follow the voice of the Superior - whoever it may be - as if it were the voice of our Lord Christ (Consti-
The Jesuit must declare something that appears white to his eyes to be black if the Church declares it to be black. A total abolition therefore
of one's own judgment, an annihilation of one's own personality, combined with a control that goes down to the smallest detail and reveals almost everything, combined with the duty both to account for one's knowledge, the complete disclosure of even one's inner self to the superior, for the higher honor of Gorre", as it says in
Rule 4 of the Constitutions of the Order explicitly states, as well as to systematically spy on each other, to constantly denounce each other (Rule q).

The general, although theoretically subordinate to the highest congregation of the order, was practically the absolute head and had an enormous amount of power, a de facto unlimited lifelong power of direction. He could send any member of the Society whenever and wherever he wanted and for as long as he wanted, and could appoint and dismiss anyone at will. The Jesuit was to be inconspicuous, easily mobile, could be deployed anywhere and at any time, and the order's apparatus was thus to be quickly and efficiently available; a mobile task force at all times, either in problem areas or in completely new areas to be won; everywhere the Society was to "cast its net and seek to win souls.

Unlike many, if not most, religious orders, it was by no means about asceticism and personal perfection. The agents of the Lord often did not live in close community, often operated in a very segregated manner, without any - not only at that time widely hated - protection.

- The monks were not characterized by a monk's habit, but rather dressed according to their national office, and were not hindered by frequent prayer or special fasting. In order to gain greater flexibility, Ignatius abolished the religious habit and the common choral prayer (p. iaq f.), and finally also poverty, which was completely useless for world domination.

The Jesuits, who were not lacking in the desire for honor - cacatured by apparent humility - and who preferred to call themselves the "minima societas Jesu", eagerly collected testimonies and expert opinions on their activities and methods, certificates, expert opinions and praise from princes, kings, dukes, universities, bishops and inquisitors in order to gain a reputation and be better armed against the accusations of their enemies. Not only did they benefit from the fact that they were better qualified in terms of their intellectual training than most other religious, but also that they were more independent in principle because they enjoyed a prominent position as an exempt papal order. And since they had been created for the special support of the Roman Hicrarchs, the latter generally showed them their special favor.

Paul III had already organized the society shortly before his death i 5q9) from the obligation to pay interest - incidentally at the instigation of the Je- suites themselves, more precisely the later third General of the Order, St. Francis of Borja (BorgiaJ, great-grandson of Alexari- dor VI {VIII 3ZI ff.!). The duke had secretly joined the Societas I i 4
and, three years later, she was given Paul's pleasant bull, the
also brought her liberation {exemption) from all episcopal jurisdiction.

Julius III founded the Collegium Germanicum in 5yz, whose foundation Ignatius tirelessly pursued, as it was intended to send young priests to Germany, preferably noble ones, and already had 6o pupils in the first few years. Ignatius originally wanted nothing to do with the financing of the college.

but soon hoped for money from all sides, from prelates, rich orders, female princes.

Oer successor to Julius *III,* Marcellus If. (r y y y), was friends *with lgna-* tius, had Jesuits as confessors and wanted to give some of them residence in the Vatican as his permanent advisors. Pius IV (i J5g-i56y) recommended the order to emperors and kings, increased its privileges and praised its fruitful zeal, this almost unbelievable progress in a short time.

Gregory XIII. i 57 >-- i 8 y}, who was once called a truly "German pope, also called him his German heart - atte- was the second founder of the Collegium G#rmanicum, whose rebuilding he financed - s 73 with io OOO Goldscudi annually. He also freed it from all sorts of burdens, placed it directly under the Pope and founded a Hungarian, an English, a Greek College in Rome. And Clement VIII (i yqa-iöoy) was the first pope to elevate two Jesuits, Francisco de Toledo and Robert Bellarmin, to cardinals.

Not least because of its influence and brutal egotism, the order was strongly o p p o s e d from the outset and again and again, even by Catholics, especially in strictly Catholic countries such as Spain.

Thus in 48, towards the end of the pontificate of Paul III, rival religions prevented the establishment of a Jesuit colony in Zaragoza. The Carmelites, Franciscans and Augustinians resisted, as did all the city's parish priests, as the secular clergy felt that the selfish order was depriving them of their *numerous* "customers", the wealthier section of the population that the society moved from the parish churches to their religious churches.

The Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain,J an Mar- tiriez Siliceo, is said to have reviled the new disciples of Jesus as "heretics". And in Salamanca, where people pointed the finger at them and considered anyone who associated with them to be dishonorable, the Dominican theologian Melchior Cano, who was celebrated throughout Spain and at court, fought against them.

erte scholar {through the centuries always again, indeed with his main work "De locis rheologicis", the foundation of theological methodology, still published today), the Jesuits, the

He was an advisor to Charles V and Philip II, as well as a bishop and provincial of the Dominicans. For five years he even fought against his own friar Bartolomé **Garranzp,** Archbishop of Toledo, whose imprisonment by the Inquisition, the Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés, and condemnation by Pope Gregory XIII he finally achieved.

The Jesuits were also not held in high esteem by Charles V, who wanted to close the Netherlands to them. Indeed, even some popes shared this aversion; especially Paul IV (- s 5 -- 5 Jq), who had a strong antipathy not only towards Spain and the Spaniards, but also towards lgnatius since their first meeting in Venice in 536.

antipathy, which was incidentally quite mutual, so that at Ca- rafa's papal election on May z3. May i $ $ y the Jesuit leader, by his own admission, had trembled in his bones. But he immediately uni: two days later he praised "the outstanding qualities - of the new head of the Church.

For a time, Paul IV apparently also covered up his aversion, but it made his behavior clear time and again. For example, he discontinued financial support for the Jesuit College, which, as most of the cardinals followed him, had dire consequences. He also ordered the Jesuits to take only a three-year generalate and to introduce choral prayer, which Ignatius had once strongly opposed. On this occasion, he called the dead Ignatius a "tyrant", the Jesuits "rebels", close to heretics, and expected a devil from their ranks one day. He also threatened their forthcoming general assembly that it could **not** decide **anything** without his confirmation; -one should not trust too much in earlier papal grants, because what one pope granted, another pope could revoke"; a word worth considering - and indeed Paul's successor Pius IV already annulled the decree of his predecessor, which had been blasted against the Society.

Later, there was a conspiracy within the order,

after the first Spanish provincial, Antonio Araoz, had already criticized the Roman leadership of the order, and i y86/i $ 7 the Spanish Inquisition summoned zi Jesuits and threw four of them two

years in prison, whereupon less was heard of them than if they were in India. At that time, Sixtus V { iy8 -i ygo), the former Inquisitor of Venice (who, as Pope, threatened me with death for incest, abortion, sodomy, prostitution and adultery), sent a Jesuit to Spain and hanged him on the Bridge of Angels. Even Francis de Borja, the former Duke of Gandia and later head of the order's provinces in Spain and Portugal, only escaped the Inquisition by fleeing to Portugal.

In Spain, the Dominican Alonso de Aven daño preached against the Jesuits for seventeen years, denouncing them as heretics, hypocrites and Pharisees and crossing himself when he met them. Even if personal dislike played a part in this, the two orders may have been fundamentally opposed dogmatically when they clashed sharply under Clement VIII in the so-called Dispute of Grace, the greatest dogmatic controversy in the history of theology (Jedin), but for a time both doctrines w e r e tolerated by the Church.

STETE IN D OCTRINATION OR*
CU PIDO O CCUPANDI OMNIA

While the Dominicans had long been regarded as the most learned Catholic order {even at the turn of the ci . Century they were in charge of six universities and *seven* theological faculties}, the Jesuits acted more as pastors, missionaries to the pagans and the people, and catechists. In particular, they encouraged pilgrimages, the veneration of the saints and the confraternization of prayer, because all of this again promoted "piety", i.e. adherence to the Roman Church, and it brought
Money.

Despite the hostility, the society was highly regarded, not least because it had a widespread influence on higher education and even became a key propaganda tool for the reform. Not only the popes, but also many princes were

Jesuits called for the renewal of the educational system. And the indoctrination of the youth, the intellectual classes of the youth (the "lower classes" were practically far less interesting), became their specialty, a main weapon with which they fought the advance of Protestantism both within and outside the empire.

Above all, the Jesuits drilled the next generation of Catholics, a world and religious clergy renewed in their sense, they provided youth educators, popular preachers, schools, as Nikolaus Elgard, the auxiliary bishop of Erfurt, once said, "in which knowledge and even more piety is taught". This was, of course, what mattered most, planting schools for the functionaries of the church. Since the middle of the century, Jesuit grammar schools were established in Vienna (i 55 z}, Ingolstadt (i $ yö), Cologne (i } $6}, Munich (i 33q}, Trier { i y6o), Mainz (i y6i J, Dillingen { i 364). They were affiliated to colleges and usually had over 5oo pupils.

The Jesuit school system has been praised for centuries, even b y those one would expect less of, such as Francis Bacon (Baco of Verulam) or Leibniz, while a connoisseur like Paul Graf von Hoensbroech, having belonged to the order for fourteen years, feels compelled to pass judgment on the Jesuit teaching system: -it is bad", which he documents in detail. After all, poor students were granted convic- tions, free tables and scholarships, although there were many admissions from the nobility in order to fill key positions in the church with such students. Tuition was free of charge. Above the old entrance to the Collegium Romanum, the Jesuit music school, it read: "School for grammar, humanistic subjects and Christian teaching; free of charge".

If this was ever true - later the claim of the -Unent-
The explanation was that the validity of the lessons was an outright lie,
"not for gold, but out of love for God and others, a "strong, but very common piece of Jesuit deception", the Jesuit order as a whole, as Hoensbroech points out, knows how *to -measurably, out of its*
-spiritualficberi *activities' to gain money and gold, none in the*

In this respect, he is surpassed in skill and also
tiici't en *greed.*--°

In the year i6og, the]esuits taught at iq schools in Mainz and the surrounding area alone. The pupils were not only institutionally appropriated by sodalities, but also individually and were then, of course, supposed to pass on the Jesuit spirit privately as multipliers, instrumentalizing their families and their environment accordingly. The Jesuit theater also had to function in this way, as a means of education outside of school, with a preference for biblical motifs tailored to the audience's taste - mixtures of the gruesome and the wonderful.

How one can even imagine the primitiveness, the pseudo-religious kitsch, which the Jesuits also put into circulation, hardly grofi and grotesk can hardly imagine. The Jesuit Rosignoli writes the book
• Pity the souls in purgatory! Miraculous events from the Jenscits-. The Jesuit Terwekoren writes "The holy water of St. Ignatius of Loyola for all sufferings of the soul and body". The Jesuit Franz Cyprian becomes Z37. flflCÄOStiRdien traveling,
taken up to heaven, but will return. A picture of the Jesuit
Peter Canisius sweats out sweat in Quito (Ecuador) in 1633. A picture of the Jesuit Francis Xavier moves the eyes. The corpse of the Jesuit Johannes Berchmans makes a blind woman see again in both eyes. The Jesuits, like the monks of other orders, disseminate such miraculous things in countless "edification books", and this and a thousand more, of course, "to the higher glory of God".

It is hardly surprising that they also have the most beautiful treasures, the most magnificent relics hoarded and venerated in their churches. In the Jesuit church in Ebersberg, for example: pieces of Christ's swaddling clothes, of his sweatcloth, particles of his crown of thorns and a drop of his blood shed on the Mount of Olives, some from the wardrobe of St. Mary, a tooth of St. John the Baptist, a finger of St. Vincent, a skull of St. John the Baptist and a skull of St. John the Baptist. Vincent, a skull of St. Sebastian, two skulls of St. Ursula's companions, in short, as wonderful as it was: it was the unbelievable. And the Jesuit Agricola assures us, as is also customary, in his work commissioned by the Upper German province of the order

written "History- of this Province, that of course for the authenticity of all these shrines -the most credible testimonies are available- (de quibus omnibus monumentis fide dignissima testimonia adsuntl.-'

However, the Society of Jesus also made tough and successful inroads in the academic field.

For just as the Protestants founded universities in the course of the i6th and early I7 centuries, for example in Marburg, Königsberg, Jena, Helmstedt, Gie&n, Strasbourg, Altdorf, the Jesuits expanded their university bases in Dillingen, Olmütz, Würzburg, Paderborn and Molsheim. In the process, theology - on both sides - once again became the undisputed leader over philosophy and philoĺogy, education was rigorously confessional, first providing for theological trainees and training students for the church and then for the princely service.

i 6ą8 uriter, there were x8 Catholic universities in the Holy Roman Empire, a- *7 of which were taught by Jesuits. There were also pronounced "Jesuit universities", which usually emerged from so-called colleges and were then often not fully developed.
The first of thesełben, Dillingen, was i 5 y i appointed university by the Pope.
and - s 3 transferred to the Jesuit order. There were Jesuit universities in Ingolstadt, where there were constant complaints about the order's "ambition and self-interest" (but not only here!),
• about the Jesuits' desire to seize everything: "cupido occu- pandi omnia"; there were Jesuit universities in Paderborn, Bamberg, Würzburg, Freiburg, and briefly in Osnabrück. The Jesuit University of Molsheim in Alsace was intended to combat the "heresy plague" according to Paul V's wishes. But there were also Jesuit universities in Prague, Graz, Innsbruck and elsewhere. And mari naturally left his mark on them everywhere; the University of Mainz took on "the character of an extended seminary" {Jendorff).

However, the **Jesuits** were not only active as so-called pastors, educators, missionaries to the pagans and in the fight against "heretics"; they also acted as nuncios {diplomats), visitators and military chaplains, such as Diego Laynez or Jerónirno Na-

da1 or Edmond Auger, who under Pius V {i J66-*57>l İn Lyon brought almost zooo Huguenots back into the old church, then became a field chaplain to the troops of the Duke of Anjou and i yyy confessor to the French King Henry III, a zealous promoter of the Society of Jesus.

THE **JOB FATHER-Bxx** x

Father to a prince was one of the most coveted positions because it was the most lucrative. The Jesuits generally preferred to work on the basis of personal relationships. They approached individuals with true passion. And they naturally preferred to provide pastoral care to members of the upper classes, the higher the better.

No less a personage than Clement VIII (i hqs-iöo5) once witnessed this with his own eyes as Cardinal Aldobrandini in Poland,
-that the Jesuits had too many dealings at court and with the nobility". And it was precisely the office of prince-confessor that allowed them to secretly intervene decisively in the politics of almost all the countries of Europe, and this just a few decades after the founding of the order.*'

On June 6, 1606, the French envoy in Venice wrote,
M. de Canaye, to his King Henry IV: -It is proved by Jesuit documents found in Bergnmo and Padua that the Jesuits used confessions to learn about the abilities, dispositions and way of life of the confessors, about the most important affairs of all the towns where they lived, and that they had such a precise knowledge of all of them that they knew the forces, the means, the relationships of each state and of all the families."

However, they always tried to keep up appearances. Even at the Council of Trent, the delegated Jesuits Laynez, Salmerón and Le Jay took it in turns to visit the poor outside the city every day, as if their main concern was to help the poor.

to mu. -In June, they reported on major issues
• s46 their general, -let us not interfere, except as far as we are instructed to do so.- In fact, they were - there and always and everywhere - concerned with nothing more than big business!

The Jesuits always eagerly gave the impression that they did not interfere in politics. Indeed, they were apparently able to warn against it, invoking the explicit instructions of their order, whose i6. General Congregation r7 5o decreed: "All Jesuits, from
where princes claim political activity should declare that it is
47 They are forbidden by their statutes to deal with such matters in any way," wrote the General of the Order, Johannes Roothaan, to the Parisian Courrier fran9ais: - *Poli-*
tics is completely alien to the Society of Jesus. It has never joined any party, whatever it may be called. The purpose and vocation of the Order is greater and loftier than all parties ...- Seemingly quite faithfully and impartially, the General reminds us that we are called by the Lord to the salvation of souls, to the service of God, but to avoid everything that our vocation shrinks from.- Indeed, he "emphatically and seriously" forbids his own to get involved in such public business, ordering them -that no one should interfere in the public and secular affairs of princes relating to the state, and that no one should submit to taking care of political matters.

Since the statutes of the order forbid Jesuits, who are advisors to princes, from intervening i n politics, the Society cannot simply allow this. General Aquaviva, the fifth general of the order, a Neapolitan, thus also warns against political activity by commanding his subordinates to "refuse wisely ...". The accent is on prudent, for the general continues, -they are to suggest {suggerant} to the princes that in some matters *they should* also turn *to others of ours or to others of their own*, as the matter entails, *so that it may not appear that the uniies* are *in charge of everything.* ne videantur nostri omnia movere-. You can see immediately that this warning is not meant that seriously.

What was important there, as of course in the whole church, was the beautiful appearance, the deception. And the position of the

The Jesuits were eagerly striving for the position of princely confessor. This was because it allowed them to act politically in the most conspicuous and effective way, and at the highest level.

Ignatius of Loyola himself had already provided the King of Portugal and the Dukes Hercules of Ferrara and Cosimo of Medici with priests as confessors. The order soon felt compelled to issue a ban on princely confessors,

The z. General Congregation is s. • already decided not to instruct any of ours to follow their court or any other secular or ecclesiastical lord and to be attached to it.

to hold the office of a father or a theologian or any other office " But this too was so serious

probably not meant again, as the decree continues immediately afterwards, -... except for the very short period of a month or two".

And General Aquaviva, on the one hand, does not want to see the prince-confessor entangled in the affairs of the court, does not want to see him as a reprover of ministers and courtiers; on the *other* hand, he would like to see the office as such preserved, for if the Society of Jesus "can no longer flee from him, *the* greater *honor of* our *Gones and Herm* may *require* it".

and the prince then only has to listen "patiently" to "whatever the confessor, Intel *of the voice of the Ge-* msienr, considers good to *instill* (suggerendum) in him daily {!)

From then on, this clever formula of conscience played a major role for the princely confessors. After all - there were official and secret confessionals for princely confessors in the Jesuit order.

-In the "instructions", reference is made to the official ban on political activity, but secretly the confessor can and should "instill in the prince whatever his conscience dictates" (quid- quid dictante sibi conscientia). General Carafa, for example, declares an "encyclical against the political activity of the Jesuits" intended for the public, but in a confidential letter dated z3. With14 for Rector of the Jesuit College in

Münster, Gottfried Görler: "As far as my encyclical is concerned, that Our Lords do not wish to become involved in the business of war and peace, it is *not my opinion to prevent Our Lords from* guiding *the minds of* those *who approach them with doubts in the confessional, but* only to deal with such matters outside of confession".

Throughout Europe, the Society of Jesus interfered in politics in strict opposition to the constitution. It attempted to make Sweden Catholic through the ongoing manipulation of the king (p. i68 f.) and thus - here through war and class deception - to influence Orthodox Russia.

1 *7 <.). Under Henry III of France, the Jesuit Matthieu strongly supported the Duke of Guise and the League in Rome, Paris and Madrid. In Austria, Father Viller, one of the

The Jesuit ßlyssem, provincial of the Austrian Province of the Orden, also ventilates measures against the Turks as well as against the disruptive heretic subjects of the Archduke of Graz. He writes an expert opinion -on the military-political question of whether and how the castle of Graz should be occupied against the Protestants-, also advises the Archduke on the -handing over of the arsenal and artillery to the Catholics- or on the -gradual, silent increase of soldiers at the castle- and the like, but rejects the idea of making policy, instead he coolly assures: - I abstain from all political advice, but only negotiate about what is my office, i.e. what relates to conscience- - whereby his conscience is so sensitive that he sends his reports, which are contrary to the statutes, to Rome under nothing but aliases.

In the East, the Jesuits were involved in the Polish royal election after the abdication of John 11 Casimir {September i668), and even more dramatically in the West in the fall of the Stuart, for which Jesuit Creighton had promised the Duke of Lennox i 5 ooo men, while his brothers in the Order; the Englishman Par- sons and the Frenchman Matthieu, cooperated closely with the Duke of Guise, who used every means at his disposal to overthrow the British Queen Elizabeth.

The Society of Jesus was very directly involved in the Three Years' War
(p. 3*). Shortly before its outbreak, the Jesuit Maggio, the confessor of Emperor Rudolf II, also overthrew him by
The disciples of Jesus were also involved in the revolution in Portugal in the middle of the 7th century. The disciples of Jesus were also involved in the revolution in Portugal in the middle of the 7th century, where they had a great influence on the royal family.
family and the court. - No position," wrote Georgel, the secretary of the French envoys in Vienna, "was distributed by the state or the church without their consent and influence.

The situation was similar at many European courts. The Jesuit Cordarß, official historiographer of the order for 35 years until the abolition of the Society - 773 - even claims that -reges ac principes prope omnes Europae solis jesuitis utebantur conscientiae arbitris" (almost all kings and princes of Europe had only Jesuits as lenders of their consciences) - and sometimes rulers are said to have been forced by threats to fill the influential positions with Jesuits, who in the end did not operate in favour of the various ruling houses, but only used them for the realization of their own purposes, i.e. for the higher glory of God
- although, like the Jesuit Parsons, even the Pope himself could be deceived in favor of the Spanish king. {Parsons used more than a dozen false names to carry out his intentions as undisturbed as possible).

Let's take a brief, albeit very fragmentary, overview.

Ignatius of Loyola himself was confessor to the Duchess Margaret of Farnese, the daughter of Emperor Charles V. And he placed the Fathers Le Jay, Polanco and Pelletier at the disposal of the Dukes Hercules of Ferra and Cosimo of Medici as confessors, as well as the Fathers Gonzales and Miron as confessors to the King of Portugal. Jesuit Cheminot was confessor to Duke Charles IV of Lorraine, as well as confessor to the Duchess; Jesuit Bodler was confessor to Duke Philipp Wilhelm of Neuburg and Jülich-Berg; Jesuit Mengin was confessor to Duke Wilhelm

of Bavaria; Jesuit Vervaux confessor to Maximilian I of Bavaria; Jesuit Viller confessor to Archduke **Charles** of Styria; Jesuit Maggio confessor to Emperor Rudolf 11; Jesuit Lamormaini confessor to Emperor Ferdinand II; Jesuit Kampmiller confessor to Empress Maria Theresa; Jesuit d'Aubanton confessor to Philip V of Spain. of Spain {the Society even established the regular appointment of a Jesuit as royal confessor in Madrid by a secret article *7^ **rtraglfch); Jesuit Cloton was confessor to Henry IV of France, his daughter, the Duchess Christine of Savoy, had the Jesuit Monod as confessor, of whom his biographer Raimond says that he ruled Paris, Madrid, Rome
and Turin. Jesuit Caussin was confessor to Louis XIII of France; Jesuit La Chaise was confessor to Louis XIV of France, as was the Jesuit Tellier **(also** Letellier); Jesuit Warner, also provincial superior of the British Jesuits, was confessor to King James II of England.

Not in theory, but in practice, the institution of the prince-confessors was created - and this already shows the deep hypocrisy, deviousness, duplicity, the untruthfulness of the matter - in order to pursue politics, above all politics, no matter how much the "conscience" was put forward for it, pastoral care. In this and other ways, the Order had most of the princes and politically influential men of Europe more rather than less in its grip, and this in the most inconspicuous manner.

The Jesuit Eduard Petre, who was particularly involved in the fall of the House of Stuart, had been a member of the Royal Privy Council since the fall of i 7 and a favorite of James II, who wished to make Petre a cardinal. The Tuscan envoy in Lon
don, Terriesi, report on July 1686 for the Grand Duke: -The /esuri Perre, who rules him {the king), is the man to drive him to extremes without thinking of the consequences; *he* is the pritrio mo6ife in the aegïeriing. - And reports on December 3o, z 686: -The Jesuit Petre dominates more than ever the spirit of seirter majesty ..."

The influence that the Austrian Jesuit Eberhard Nidhard had in Spain can be seen from the list of his offices and duties. First a confessor at the Viennese court, he also became

Confessor to the Spanish Queen, became Spanish Minister of State, General Inquisitop Envoy to Rome, Archbishop and Cardinal.
In April 7 *- the Venetian ambassador to Madrid, Marino Zoni, writes to the Signoria that Nidhard "governs the Spanish monarchy".

The Luxembourg Jesuit Lamormaini reported something similar with regard to Emperor Ferdinand II. It is said that Lamormaini tyrannized Ferdinand and the princes, that he had the emperor in his power in such a way that it was not the emperor but the Jesuits who ruled.
-The emperor followed the advice and judgment of his confessor "like a sheep to a shepherd" and, in order to ensure his conscience in every direction, initiated him into everything, even the most insignificant trifles (Steinberger).

However, while outwardly people only seemed to care for the one thing that i s necessary, for the soul, for eternal bliss, for the Christian values that are still being bandied about today in such a grandiose and vague manner, it was and is, despite all denials, always only about power and money when it comes down to it, it was and is, to emphasize again and again, about deception, about mere appearances, it is about fooling the world into believing an X for a U in order to be all the more certain of getting the existence that one would hardly ever have gotten without the appearance and certainly would no longer get.

This is the case in the entire Christian Church (and certainly not only there), but it is particularly true of the Jesuits, which at times was the reason for their great success.

They surrounded themselves with a mystical aura, even since Ignatius, and yet it was only aftermysticism (perhaps only a tau-nology anyway). They did everything, even since Ignatius, for the higher glory of God, but had hardly any time for him themselves and cut their traditional contacts with him. They were generously supported by women - and there is plenty of evidence of this, starting with the great founder of the order - but then wanted little or nothing to do with them, with the exception of noble women, rich women, influential women or those who were simply too mifibra- ble, such as religious brothers, students of the order, etc.

Many like to present themselves as ascetic, deadened, but secretly indulge in

the good life, to the outside world of course, according to Count von Hoensbroech,

The poor sons of Loyola like to eat well - Jesuit Alighiero Tondi even claims this. The poor sons of Loyola liked to eat well - Jesuit Alighiero Tondi even claims, but this was already in the progressive zo, century: -Whoever wanted could eat all day. There were no restrictions whatsoever" {on the order's rules i q: paper). Not only do they like to eat well, they also like to travel well, live in beautiful villas and enjoy well-tended gardens. At the same time, and likewise since Ignatius, they always talk about poverty and yet they hoard more and more wealth; while they give themselves freely and modestly, they hoard money, money from all sides and **goods,** a huge amount of land.

Money is also collected - perhaps not always, but mostly - for spiritual services, for retreats, missions, sermons, sermons for feasts, masses for souls, collected for weekly beds, at least for nuns, and collected for deathbeds. And not everyone, like the Jesuit Cienfuegos, who was once made a cardinal as imperial envoy in Madrid, can squander over 7 OnO gold guilders a year, even princely confessors, for example, poor orphans, do not receive a bad salary, in Spain occasionally about4 ooo livres, in France over 6ooo livres; and soofr

the confessor there at Hole aB, he had to be given a meal of

serve six courses. Louis XIV's confessor, Jesuit La Chaise, was also given a magnificent country house as a retirement home, incidentally where the famous cemetery named after him is located today: Pere La Chaise.

Still in America the Jesuits own extensive estates, huge flocks of sheep, sometimes 3oooo sheep, they have the largest sugar factories, they have silver mines. - Most Holy Father! May i64, Bishop John of Palafox from Mexico, "I found in the hands of the Jesuits almost all the riches, all the properties, all the treasures of these provinces of America." And still in the zo. In the 20th century, the **Society** of the one who had nothing to lay his **head on** was probably the richest Catholic order, owning, for example, the Bank of America, the largest private bank in the world, with y i percent.-°

7- CHAPTER

THE WITTELSBACHS AND HABSBURGS AS PROMOTERS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND THE COLOGNE WAR

-There was no room for tolerance ... where the reality of life was characterized by multiple confessionalism (and even civil war!).

Michael Maurer'

The arrival of a Wittelsbach in the archbishopric of Cologne had far-reaching consequences for the confessional situation on the Lower Rhine. Alongside the Wittelsbachs, the Habsburgs became the most fervent champions of the Counter-Reformation. Above all Ferdinand II. {i qo-i 637), who was educated by the Jesuits in Ingolstadt, regarded the eradication of heresy as his life's work. He launched a rcge]rt campaign against his Protestant subjects. Within a short time, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola were re-Catholicized by force ... In Bavaria, Ferdinand's fanatical father, Maximilian 1 (i q8-i6y i), the later Great Elector of Bavaria, worked along the same lines. He too was a Jesuit pupil." Walther von Loewenich*

-The Kacholic party was awakened, firmly, resolutely and intelligently led, it went for its goal. Since the eighties, the violent reaction began in many places ...

The battle for Cologne in 8s 58d can b e seen as a visible turning point. The fact that Elector Gebhard TructiseB von Waldburg found effective support from his new co-religionists when he converted to Protestantism ... and the fact that Spanish troops from the Netherlands intervened and expelled the apostate

the whole future of the Nitderrhein and Westphalia was decided. Cologne remained Catholic, and as a result the Protestant administrators disappeared from the Westphalian bishoprics before the Spanish battalions.

You can memorize it: Spanish soldiers **walled in** this cornerstone of Catholic Germany." Johannes Haller'

-Bonn, NeuB and Rheinberg now had Spanish occupations. And the Spanish period brought much more misery to the Lower Rhine than the earlier Cologne War of the Archbishops. The population of the country increased enormously. Plundering, murder and racketeering devastated 1 and the people.
Karl Brandi

The fight against Protestantism intensified from the middle of the i 6th century, when, according to the unanimous testimony of Venetian envoys, nine tenths of the German population were already Protestant. A generation later it was still seven tenths, and another generation later, at the beginning of the 7th century, Catholicism was highly dangerous and determined to fight.

Bavaria became the actual bearer of the Counter-Reformation in the Holy Roman-German Empire. Its dukes Wilhelm IV. (d. i y5o) and his brother Louis X **(d.** 5451) resisted the Reformation from the outset and prevented it to a large extent through early censorship measures. In the process, religious and realpolitik motives. Indeed, the duchy, which for the most part belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg (Salzburg, Chiemsee, Freising, Passau, Regensburg), where the brother of the Bavarian princes was archbishop, became the very model of a -closed confessional state-, albeit **less** through the regional church and its bishops than through the ecclesiastical policy controlled by the sovereign and based on extensive Roman privileges. In general, the papacy was gladly used, including the reform orders, especially the of the Jesuits. ¡i-◦ themselves, however, were less inclined to be dictated to by Rome, a religious policy that here and there, mutatis mutandis, will **shape** the times for a long time to come.

Bavaria was the first state to implement the decrees of Trent, and had already openly pleaded with the papal nuncio Giovanni Morone to use force, even ordering some executions on the grounds of faith, including the killing of the Witrenberg student who had returned to Bavaria out of homesickness for his old father

The fight against Protestantism intensified from the middle of the i 6th century, when, according to the unanimous testimony of Venetian envoys, nine tenths of the German population were already Protestant. A generation later it was still seven tenths, and another generation later, at the beginning of the 7th century, Catholicism was highly dangerous and determined to fight.

Bavaria became the actual bearer of the Counter-Reformation in the Holy Roman-German Empire. Its dukes Wilhelm IV. (d. i y5o) and his brother Louis X **(d.** 5451) resisted the Reformation from the outset and prevented it to a large extent through early censorship measures. In the process, religious and realpolitik motives. Indeed, the duchy, which for the most part belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg (Salzburg, Chiemsee, Freising, Passau, Regensburg), where the brother of the Bavarian princes was archbishop, became the very model of a -closed confessional state-, albeit **less** through the regional church and its bishops than through the ecclesiastical policy controlled by the sovereign and based on extensive Roman privileges. In general, the papacy was gladly used, including the reform orders, especially the of the Jesuits. ¡i-◦ themselves, however, were less inclined to be dictated to by Rome, a religious policy that here and there, mutatis mutandis, will **shape** the times for a long time to come.

Bavaria was the first state to implement the decrees of Trent, and had already openly pleaded with the papal nuncio Giovanni Morone to use force, even ordering some executions on the grounds of faith, including the killing of the Witrenberg student who had returned to Bavaria out of homesickness for his old father

Leonhard Käser. And as elsewhere, confessional matters were often mixed with dynastic interests, the power aspirations of the House of Wittelsbach, and the pious Bavarian princes, territorially embraced on three sides by the Habsburgs, allies and rivals at the same time, occasionally distanced themselves from the emperor and church leaders.

Thus the Bavarian dukes had long since introduced anti-evangelical measures as well as, against the initial will of the bishops, carried out visitations, parish and monastic reforms, but they had also secured control over the faith and discipline of the clergy and religious, over clergy and monastery assets, had instrumentalized church politics to their own advantage, indeed, through a war {p. z3a ff.) had made the Archbishopric of Cologne a centuries-long secundogeniture of their house. -Bavaria consistently exploited concessions to increase its own power and that of the family" Körber) - although, as already mentioned, this was rarely different elsewhere.

MüNCHEN AS ^DEUTSCHES ROW", BAYERN AS **POU ZEISTAAT**

Duke Wilhelm tV with his teacher and advisor Leonhard vori Eck, one of the main people responsible for the country remaining Catholic, had already called in the Jesuits. Under his son and successor Albf8Cht V. i y yÕ-I 5 9), they worked at the colleges founded in Ingoĺstadt and Munich, and while the bishops were hardly involved, the duke, who at first seemed rather undecided on religion under the pressure of his Protestant nobility and the burden of heavy obligations, then took the confessional direction and a d v o c a t e d church reform.

5Influenced above all by the]esuites and his emphatically Catholic chancellor Simon Thaddäus Eck {Sńefbiuder and pupil of the well-known **Luther** and Zwingfi opponent Johannes Eck), Albrecht V began the Re-

Catholicization of the duchy, intensified it after the Council of Trent and, steering an increasingly rigid counter-Reformation course, became the founder of the early modern Bavarian confessional state, of which the court historiographer Rader could write: -tota regio nil nisi religio-: -tota regio nil nisi religio-.

However, although Albrecht declared it necessary to "do a proper inspection and review" in order to preserve the remaining Catholic teachings and ceremonies, he already preferred to
• with his wife and children to the begging stick, than even further make religious concessions. After all, Paul IV had already pinned special expectations on Albrecht and sent him a letter of praise and thanks in the very year of the beginning of his pontificate i yyy. Paul's successor Pius IV granted the Bavarian numerous privileges, church tithes and nomination rights. And Gregory XIII, a pope who personally ordered the assassination of the English queen, had the "greatest confidence" in him of all the German princes and repeatedly sought his advice. Did the Bavarian
"Statecraft - but through the centuries not least in close cooperation with Rome, now and again in sheer bondage. Occasionally, however, Albrecht's conversion {and, in his wake, that of the whole of southern Germany) to the new believers was feared.

However, in 569, the duke crushed the heads of the opposition, an alleged aristocratic faction of the Protestants, with a treason trial, which was obviously intended as a deterrent, he also won back inner-Bavarian enclaves for Catholicism and granted tutelage in Protestant Baden. At the same time, he promoted the "popular mission", introduced "religious interrogations" and the strictest censorship, and had the printing press as well as the education of young people monitored. The "School Regulations of the Principalities of Upper and Lower Bavaria" of *i $69* controlled teachers and pupils equally rigorously. And the potentate continued to threaten all subjects with harsh punishments in the event of rebellion, while he himself encroached on church property and monastery assets and was already displeased by only very cautious, very polite ecclesiastical complaints. Thus, after only twenty years

Bavaria was **saved** for the Pope**,** I§75 It was completely recatholized.

Albrecht's son, Duke William V the Fronime (- s79 f 9) was entirely accompanied and led by Jesuits, for which he naturally showered them with benefits, just as he generally made rich gifts to many -saintly places, especially Roman ones. He is said (like his wife Renata) never to have sinned gravely, confessed and communicated at least once a week, prayed at least four hours a day, attended several masses and, according to Jesuit instructions, examined his conscience at midday and in the evening. To this end, he eagerly collected relics, including those exchanged by the Elector of Brandenburg for good Bavarian backs and English dogs, while the Duke of Pomerania initially hesitated to hand over saints' relics - to reinforce his idolatry. When one learns, moreover, that Duke Wilhelm is said to have surpassed even the medieval ascetic masters by wearing hard disguises, by mortification and scourging, one is not surprised that his court was called a monastery, Munich the German Rome, He intensively continued the Counter-Reformation of his ancestors and their internal church reforms and acquired a wealth of ecclesiastical benefices for his successors, despite the ban on accumulation, until an enormous debt forced him to abdicate - although the Jesuit provincial Hoffäus had already x58o exempted him from paying interest because God had forbidden the taking of interest.

Wilhelm's 5son and co-regent Maximilian (i 5g8-iö5 i), a prince by the grace of God and of confessional absolutism, was also rewarded by the Lord with a good fifty years of reign.
The Bavarian government took advantage of this and turned Bavaria into a clerical police state, "the real stronghold of religious and political Catholicism in Germany" (tBrandi).

Maximilian appointed Jesuits as his confessors, heard two masses a day and prayed for hours on his knees. He not only sealed off his orthodox flock from the - heretical - outside world as much as possible {for example by forbidding them to marry foreign proteges or by making it very difficult for them to marry.

He also enforced strict moral and church discipline as well as severe punishments for adultery and violations of fasting and abstinence laws, whereby everything from the cooking pots to the public wearing of rosaries was carried out by officially appointed spies, so-called

-The -upstanders-, supervised liefi, who in turn were to control -upstanders-. -Heretical books were segregated, even in the ducal library they were only kept locked up, and the bowl was sealed! All servants, such as officials and teachers, had to swear to the decrees of the Council of Trent, daily mass attendance was obligatory for the entire court, and there were fines and prison sentences for unchurchly behavior, even swearing was threatened, in serious cases with the loss of a limb, even life!

NOTHING AROUND - GOD'S REWARD ^ ALONE

However, the Wittelsbachs also knew how to combine their promotion of Catholicism with their dynastic interests, making the bishoprics dependent on them and thus steadily strengthening their dynastic power.

Nothing happened for God's sake alone. Duke Albrecht not only seized the church's financial resources, but also forced the Bishop of Freising, Moritz von Sandizell, to resign in order to force his own son, the twelve-year-old Prince Ernst {i 54-i 6i z), who had already been given many benefices at an early age, onto the local cathedral chapter as administrator in temporalibus, which even Pius V rejected, although it contradicted all Tridentine reform principles.

And Pope Gregory XIII - yet endowed with such an ancestral sense of family that he bought his son Giacomo an earldom and a duchy - also approved, in defiance of all the decrees of Trent, the many bishoprics, the enormous accumulation of benefices in the hands of the Bavarian, who is 73 *--h Bishop of Hildesheim

whose former chief shepherd, Duke Frederick of Holstein, although confirmed in Rome, behaved all too lordly, "kafi und soff", "never went to church" (von Pastor). And in 58 i Ernst also became head of the particularly richly endowed bishopric of Lüt- tich, indeed, he even acquired the neighboring imperial abbeys of Stablo and Malmedy as well as the bishopric of Miinster in 585. {And had already been proposed for the bishoprics of Minden, Halberstadt and Magdeburg at the age of fifteen).

Ernst of Bavaria, who ultimately ruled over four bishoprics and two

He even ascended to the archbishop's see, but not without war, the so-called Truchsess or Cologne War, which raged for years from May i y8 "with terrible devastation" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) on the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia - the first war since i y y between the confessional parties in the empire, a secondary theater of war of the Dutch

fight for freedom {p. *4* ff.}. Bavaria thus not only saved the north-western corner bastion of German Catholicism, not only the Catholic remnants in northern Germany, it also prevented a Protestant majority in the Electoral College, indeed a looming Protestant emperorship, in short, the ruin of the old Church and

the autocracy of Protestantism in Germany*.

Some of Cologne's bishops had sympathized with the Reformation and sought to Protestantize their constituency. These included the electors Archbishop Hermann von Wied and, two decades later, Archbishop Friedrich von Wied. Hermann, who wanted to be the first chief shepherd in the German Empire to introduce the Reformation, was i 5q6/i yqy excommunicated and deposed {simply "ignorant" as he was, theologically insufficient and "not even able to speak Latin": Ludwig von Pastor). Hermann's relative Friedrich von Wied also refused to make the Tridentine profession of faith and abdicated. And his successor, Count Salentin von lsenburg, resigned in 577 and

married.

However, the Cologne Cathedral Chapter is said to have already negotiated the secularization of the cathedral with the rebellious Dutch. It was infiltrated by Protestants, like many others, of course,

The "Strafiburg", for example, which led to double occupations and tussles between the competing bishops in the "Strafiburg Chapter Dispute". In Cologne, however,ș77 Albrecht V's attempt to bring his son Ernst to the Rhenish archbishopric failed. Even the support of Philip II of Spain, Emperor Rudolf II and Pope Gregory XIII, together with his so successful nuncio Bartolommeo Portia, the cleverest of all nuncios according to Torquato Tasso, did not help.

The archbishop at the time was Gebhard TruchseB von Waldburg ¡ 577-I y83), a nephew of the Augsburg bishop Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg, an inveterate enemy of Protestants, the only imperial prince, incidentally, who had protested against the peace treaty on z3. March i 5y5 had protested against the peace treaty.'

It is perhaps useful to interrupt the continuous progress of the report, the broad line of what is presented and what is still to be presented, in order to b r i n g us closer to some of the peculiarities of the era, to make them clearer, albeit in a condensed form, by looking at the lives of two prelates of the time - both of whom were highly celebrated Catholic personalities, and not only at the time.

OTTO CARDINAL TRUCHSESS VONALDBURG TO THE CHIEF OF AUGSBURG AND -ÜROTEKTOR DER DEUTSCHEx NxTiox"

The Waldburgs were a Swabian family belonging to the Hohenstaufen ministries with their ancestral seat in Ravensburg. From i yaö onwards, they held the office of imperial princes by inheritance, were elevated to the rank of imperial counts a hundred years later and became princes in 1803. Under Otto's predecessor Christoph von Stadion
{IJ*7**543), possibly with Jakob Fugger's help into high office the Reforrnation spread rapidly in the Bisrum. Around *¡-7 the Zwinglians gained the upper hand, after i 53o the Lutherans, and

Bishop Stadion, probably too soft, occasionally almost became Protestant,

Proponent of lay chalice, priestly marriage, German liturgy,537 was expelled from the city along with his clergy.

The successor Otto Truchsefi von Waldburg (I 5'i-*573), a vener of the notorious Georg, the -There is no question of a "peasant Jörg". He was as loyal to the Pope as he was to the Catholics, was regarded as a reformer, and was celebrated in dozens of books by his contemporaries as the guardian and shepherd of Germania, as a second St. Augustine. And even in the zo. He was called more pious and more serious than most prelates of his time, and Ludwig von Pastor praised him as "one of the strongest pillars of the Catholic Church in Germany". However, Otto was not appointed to the archbishopric of Cologne, despite his highest intercession, because he was "far too pious, too spiritual" for the canons and "too zealous in religious matters".

In the "sacred tower of Dillingen Castle (-Turris sacra Dilingana-) and others, the pious man kept an unusual number of relics, even those of rare value, such as several heads of -marry virgins- - and virgins Otto treasured at least since he, the canon, - may1eadische jurick- frewlin ... vil rub (Ruh) unnd weyl- raubten. Later, he fought all the more intensively against the concubines of his clergy in Augsburg and erased references to the paternity of a clergyman from tombstones, and also had a chapel built at great expense for another virgin in Loreto, his favorite pilgrimage site.

After studying in Tübingen, Dole, Bologna and Padua, TruchseB, who was friends with the Pope's potentate Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as a student, entered the diplomatic service of the Curic in 53y. And just two months in Rome, the Holy Father Paul 111 ("Cardinal Unterrock": V33» 443), who was once supported by Alexander VI, had already appointed the ambitious Swabian as his camerarius secretus, the papal secret chamberlain.

At that time, the emperor and Girolamo Aleander, the Viennese nuncio, sent the warmest letters of recommendation to Rome, initiated by Otto himself, and now the blessing of gilded graces began for the reformer, which continued throughout his life {soon also for his nephews). Otto gained the right to benefices in the bishoprics of

Speyer, Würzburg, Eichstätt, Constance up to a total annual income of iooo gold guilders. He still h "imsted the Speyer
Cathedral Choir, - s4o the Cathedral Deanery of Trento, without even coming close to fulfilling the duties associated with it. State
He preferred a lavish existence, having already led such a lavish, expensive life as a canon in Pavia that his father reminded him not to have Fortunatus' or Fugger's purse. On the other hand, as bishop he took action against begging as well as the particularly fatal practice of sitting in a dungeon (especially by debtors!) and, with his characteristic tone towards the inferior, noted that quite a few subjects were lazy instead of working.
"" sitting in the taverns gorging and drinking, sending women and children to the beggars to drink away the alms they had earned". He forbids all gas riots during the forty-day pa-
stenzeit, forbids carousing and dancing even during the morning and evening services, finally permits dancing and string playing only at weddings, and enforces processions and prayers to ward off the Turkish danger, which goes so far that when the Turkish bell rings at twelve o'clock, everyone must kneel and pray whatever they are doing.'°.

Otto is4i has barely heard the news of the death of the Augsburg After receiving the title of chief shepherd, he sets heaven and hell in motion to become bishop. Ec chases express letters to the Pope, the Cardinal riepnten Farnese, King Ferdinand, the Emperor, the Bavarian dukes, the bishops of Trent, Salzburg and "other mer- - but declares immediately afterwards that all these gentlemen had supported him without his help, out of their own "ßewegnis-; i n d e e d , twenty years later he claims to have accepted the episcopal see only at the insistence of the cathedral chapter! (It was no coincidence that his confessors and advisors were mostly Jesuits).

After his election, Otto, in love with pomp and splendor like countless of his peers, received the notorious homage everywhere. For example, he allowed himself to be courted at Rettenberg Castle in the Allgäu by i65o men - with his "wer und harnasch" {his express wish) in battle formation and with eight or ten brass bands, complete with firing of firebrands - as if he had been a thunderstorm.

instead". Gifted with two oxen by the peasants, whom he exploits and threatens with punishment, worth a total of so florins, he donates zo florins to the donors - soon praised as a "benefactor of the poor and orphans". Election and assumption of government (with great splendor) cost 3oooo guilders.

At the Imperial Diet in Speyer•s44 , Charles V appoints the bishop as imperial commissary-general for Germany, which earns him E3 ooo guilders a year. The Pope elevated him to cardinal in the same year. And in the very next year, Otro is appointed
Worms asked the ruler for money and troops from the Pope for the campaign against the Schmalkaldeners, as well as permission to use ecclesiastical property for war purposes. To finance his armament, Otto himself asked for a tithe to be levied, the pledging of the monastery's estates up to **3**,000,000 guilders as well as breves in order to lure ecclesiastical and female princes into the war, which Orto passionately propagated. And during all this he indulges in "far amore", assuring his friend Cardinal Christoph von Madruzzo that he will exercise every caution; moreover, he knows of no better revenge for the rumors than to tie the knot with a pretty Augsburg woman.

In the meantime, the preparations for war continue and the bishop sometimes does more than even the regent would like. He hastens the conclusion of the imperial-papal alliance, draws Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, this particularly talented assassin, into the Catholic camp, calls on the prelates to donate gold and silver for the imminent bloodshed, demands more and more money for it himself, so that finally his own cathedral chapter declares that his "warmongering" makes him liable to arrest by high and low.

The conflict began in the bishopric of Augsburg, and Otto supplied the emperor with four ensigns, one foot soldier and zoo horsemen, became chief victualler of the field army, and his debts are said to have risen to 3,000 **guilders** during the war. However, he received such compensation from the Upper German cities and lords, the allies of the Schmalkaldeners (Ulm, Augsburg, Ravensburg, Duke of Wümemberg, etc.), that he was able to collect a sum of money,

according to the testimony of his chapter, i6d ooo guilders remained for his own benefit.

7 August - i4* The cardinal moves into the city with his entire clergy, who had been expelled from Augsburg for ten years, and the city has to reimburse him q§ ooo guilders as compensation. Of course

he regains all the "former rights" for his priests and jurisdiction over them, including all Augsburg churches, in short, the "guild regiment" replaces a patrician-aristocratic rule, and a rigorous re-Catholicization begins throughout the diocese.

When the princes revolt, the cardinal strikes a blow in vain. At the Diet of Augsburg, he also protested in vain against the equal rights of the Catholic and Protestant faiths, the hard-won religious peace, and even sought to incite the ecclesiastical princes against it to such an extent that King Ferdinand let him know that "an imperial Diet commissioner has another task than to inflame tempers".

In the meantime, Julius III and Marcellus II died and Paul IV succeeded. And since Orto no longer felt secure in his life as a result of his agitation in Germany, as he said himself, he moved to Rome in i J Jq, where he even received i 3 votes {of a good

4O), admittedly also had a serious clash with the future Pius IV, whom he nevertheless praised in high terms in letters to Emperor Ferdinand and Duke Albrecht of Bavaria immediately after his election, not least because he, the heavily indebted man, was the one who had to pay the price,

The new Holy Father will also grant him new lucrative posts and priesthoods.

Always committed to his great goal of re-establishing the Church in Germany, the Cardinal iii urged another war in i j6o/i 56z, propagating a powerful Catholic league to the Pope, Duke Albrecht and King Philip in order to eradicate "heresy" in Germany. But when Duke Christoph of Württemberg publicly denounced him and Cardinal Markus Sittig of Ems-Hohenems in]anuar iy6z as warmongers, Otto declared that neither the Pope nor the German clergy had any intention of attacking the Protestants

- and in the same year wishes the French court Bekeh-
extermination of the Huguenots or annihilation.

He cheers every defeat of these heretics and celebrates the devastating victory of the royal army and the papal auxiliaries over them on October 3, i y 6g at Moncontour as a work of the Divine Providence and congratulates57* the French King Charles IX on the great Parisian bloodbath, St. Bartholomew's Night.

573 Dies Ono - -fine Christian and with good reason-. And on aq. March i6oz, the Pope asks the Augsburg Bishop Hein- rich von Knöringen, incidentally a relative of Otto's, -to erect a worthy memorial to the deceased Cardinal and Protector of the German nation, so that many, especially Germans, would be inspired to strive for virtue. And still

•5 f77 Otto's successor, Bishop Marquard vom Berg, argued with Salzburg Archbishop Johann Jakob Khuen-Belasy for more than a year over two chests of silverware that Otro i 3 yq had pledged to the Salzburg archbishop in exchange for a loan. Incidentally, vom Berg was not only, like his predecessor Otto, an avid benefice hunter, he was also, as Nuncio BartolommeO Porti*57s reported to Rome, suspected of "heresy" and a public concubinarian. And the latter, at least, is probably what the bishop, to whom we are still to turn to in order to de-illustrate a further picture of life in those days, no one has yet claimed.

JULY US ECHTER VON MESPELBRuNP4 FO RSTBISCHOFVON ÜRZBURGUN D HERZOG von FRANKEN

PORTRAIT OF AN ^OUTSTANDING

HuAxI5TEFf- MxiSxER)

Even before the man who is still famous in Franconia today - from the beautiful ancestral castle of the Echter family in the Spessart - fought the Protestants, his neighbor to the north, the Fuldaer

Prince-Abbot Balthasar von Dembach led the way, not very successfully, but with all his energy, even though he himself was of Lutheran origin and had grown up Lutheran in Hesse. However, since his election as abbot by the Benedictine priests in 570, the then twenty-two-year-old attacked the new believers, forbade the introduction of their books, banned their hymns in church services, and finally forbade any polemics against the old religion and any interference in his government. He opened a Jesuit seminary in i5yz, had a Jesuit confessor, reintroduced prose and other Catholic customs, sought above all to raise the moral standards of his clergy and monks and to enforce the Trent regulations. -But Balthasar himself had the greatest impact through the example of his pure life and his fear of God. This is emphasized by none other than the historian of the popes, and von Pastor also attests to the young abbot - strength of character, determination, perseverance, prudence, gentleness, combined with deep piety and religious zeal, to a high degree ..."

It is also indisputable and undisputed that the archabbot had the pope on his side, just as Rome seemed willing to grant him diocesan rights. On the other hand, however, he had the Protestant knights of his high abbey against him and gradually, the longer the more, also his own unstable cathedral chapter, which was permeated by Protestant ideas. However, Bishop Julius of Würzburg held secret negotiations with both the knights and the chapter, while the prince abbot was also opposed by the city council and the guilds, especially as Protestant potentates, the Elector of Saxony and the two Hessian landgraves, had them admonished,

-to persevere with the "pure doctrine".

However, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg, now joined forces with the abbot's opponents, with this essentially neo-pagan front, with the Protestant knights of the Fulda region, with whom he had sought contact early on, and he probably did this less to eradicate Protestantism in Fulda than for territorial reasons, in order to make the arch-abbey bishopric subject to his own high prince; In short, it was about nothing so much as an enormous expansion of territory.

Götz von Pölnitz, who does little to defend Echter, also speaks of the "conspiracy between the Würzburg government and the Fuldian opposition ... Secret envoys were constantly talking", speaks of the "transgression of those laws of state morality that he, as a priest, should never be allowed to violate" - but sees Echter's attitude "already somewhat explained historically ... by the fact that it arose from a ruthless political thinking of success that was peculiar to that time ...". ."

It will hardly surprise anyone that the bishop was even more ruthless when it came to smaller interventions. He took land and buildings from the Jesuits in order to build his university. And he cared just as little about the objections of Emperor Rudolf II or even the outcry of the Jews - his predecessor Friedrich von Wirsberg had already expelled them from the diocese "once and for all" - when he decided to build his much-vaunted (Julius) Hospital on the site of the former Jewish cemetery. The prelate was enormously ambitious. Although he renounced the xardinalate, impressing half of Germany with his decision, he, like other clerical gentlemen who resigned in this regard, did so for purely political reasons; his plans to become archbishop in Mainz failed.'-.

Julius Echter, elected on i. December* 57i at the age of twenty-eight, elected bishop with i i of aa votes, had at first not bothered the protesters much, almost spared them, perhaps fleetingly educating them about his conversion himself; while Abbot Balthasar, more resolutely

A champion of the Counter-Reformation, he attacked the new believers from the outset and soon removed anyone from his court who refused to renounce the Tridentiri confession of faith. He took action against unsaintly canons, even had the dean's beautiful maiden arrested, but on the other hand in Hammelburg, his second largest town, he allowed Protestant worship to continue alongside the Catholic service, which had now been re-established.

Things are coming to a head more and more.

Bishop Julius accepted the coadjutor dignity, allegedly "to reduce the danger to the abbot", whose home he raided one night, whose servants he disarmed, whose Jesuits he had to kill.

He had his confessor imprisoned, while he, the abbot himself, was urged to abdicate the entire following day: -If your lord does not consent, it will be said: -Fri8 bird or die'; if they were to come back again and the abbot did not comply, they wanted to cut him into as many pieces as he had drops of blood in his veins, they wanted to beat him down like a mad dog.

On the evening of z3. June 157* '-'> Balrhasar von Dembach, whole

The bishop of Fulda, who is undoubtedly the prince-abbot of Fulda, hands over the administration of the see to Bishop Julius on a prepared document, who is elected and installed there in canonical form a few days later, whereupon he rides through the country, receiving homage from his new subjects, always with his defeated opponent at his side, until the latter manages to flee to Mainz on July i z. On July 1, he managed to flee to Mainz, where he recanted his resignation and asked the Catholic imperial estates for help.'-

In the meantime, Emperor Maximilian II had already announced on z8. June i s76

ordered the reinstatement of the abbot. And in September, Pope Gregory XIII sent a whole flood of decrees across the Alps and threatened Bishop Julius with excommunication. Catholic Germany was also outraged. Its princes in Strasbourg, Speyer, Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Münster, Osnabrück and Pa- derborn protested against Echter, against his, as Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria put it in a letter to the bishop, "unseemly and repugnant work". In general, they saw their cause betrayed by him, who together with protectors had deposed a Catholic abbot in order to seize his territory.

Echter, however, did not want to give up his "well-acquired right" to the monastery without a court ruling, whatever the cost. And it cost him - who was, however, rich thanks to a savvy financial policy that also allowed him to ruthlessly cut down the forests of the Rhön, he needed money - first of all a gift of xzooo guilders for the imperial court, then a sum of 5oooo guilders via the Nuremberg banking house Imhof, and finally a guarantee of i $oooo guilders. And since Ful- the knights and canons, the knights of Franconia in general, who had been in-

The dispute dragged on, all negotiations failed, until the Imperial Court Council finally declared Dernbach's capitulation null and void and the disenfranchised man, after twenty-six years of humiliation, was reinstated in all rights and dignities on August 7th i 6oz, returned to his principality a n d died there as prince abbot in i 6o6.

could.'-

Bishop Julius, one of the League's most ardent supporters from the outset, treated the Protestants of his diocese quite differently from the Protestants in the area of Fulda Abbey, of course only after he had satisfied his territorial desires in the north with Protestant help. He could still be congratulated on his election as bishop by Protestants. indeed, his own chancery; Balthasar von Hellu, one of the most -cunning dip1omates, was Protestant and was allowed to remain so. It was not until the mid-eighties that Echter began to "purge" his realm of the ncug believers, forcing those who wavered to confess their sins and take communion according to the rite of salvation by threatening them with a blood court. At the same time, he occasionally attributed all misfortune in the monastery to Protestantism, claiming that the new doctrine had caused "all unhappiness, discord, mistrust, evil living, disobedience, rebellion and discord, envy and hatred" and that "spiritual life had been completely eradicated".

While its commissions, mainly Jesuits, the Land

When he visited the parishes, he usually visited the small towns - Hofheim, Dettelbach, Gerolzhofen, Volkach, Karlstadt, Hafifurt, Münnerstadt, Neustadt an der Saale, Mellrichstadt - and drove out everything that did not want to renounce the Protestant faith and become Catholic again, not without additionally fleecing those deprived of their homes and farms with an "additional tax" of two percent of their assets. In a single day, he had almost a hundred Protestant preachers with their wives and children expelled from his royal seat, which was still about half Protestant, and all their possessions confiscated, including anyone who sided with them,

whereby "many died in this violent procedure - (Meisner). And he proceeded in the same way in the small country towns, in Münnerstadt, Karlstadt, Detrelbach, chasing away dozens and dozens of families on religious grounds. In doing so, he acted against all the sanctions of the religious peace, lacking "any legal basis for the actual persecution of Protestants" (von Pölnitz), and also violated imperial law when he imposed a food and fuel ban on the free imperial city of Schweinfurt, which at one point took in around five hundred families he had expelled.

In such and similar counter-reformatory actions, the chief shepherd seeks external support from the imperial family, including Duke William V of Bavaria the Pious (p. 2. 41› who virtually encourages him to continue his actions "vigorously". Internally, he relied on his sovereign power, on stronger fortresses, some of which were armed to the utmost, and on an upgraded army. Decorated with a sword as a sign of his rule right from the start, Echter i ¡ 7 introduced universal conscription and completely reorganized his army.

new. He orders annual mustering, issues guidelines for re

recruitment and mobilization. If at all possible, he personally supervised the drill and practice of his troops. i 6io he rearmed. And shortly before his death, nothing damaged him more than the military, officers, fortresses, fixed places in the

Rhön, in the Spessart, Steigerwald, still z 7. in the year of his death, he invades neighboring territory, of course only to restore the -Ordnung- there.

Julius Echter was anything but squeamish about evildoers, as both the Bambergensis- von i 5oy and the

• Charles V's "peinliche Halsgerichtsordnung" of i y 3 z as well as his own "Halsgerichts-Ordnung" before 1580, even for minor offenses, such as chopping off fingers, hands, arms, sabotaging the ears, nose, tongue and various tortures, whereby there was no lack of onlooking clergymen who supervised and perhaps even enjoyed the God-blessed cause.

The prelate sought to reform his clergy, especially with the help of the Jesuits, who had once indoctrinated him for years in Cologne and then also provided the bishop with a confessor. To a greater or lesser extent, he took action against the monasteries, which were immersed in sexual lust, in almost unimaginable orgies of free drinking, whose monks and nuns, as in the tellingly named Himmelspforten monastery - situated right at the foot of his castle and fortress hill and *described as a common house* (whorehouse), *did* not only dine in pairs, -they only *did* itfi, according to a contemporary, -*in the cells, as it suited them,* all, as I said, at the foot of the bishop's seat "On Our Lady's Mountain". In the same way, the saint eagerly hindered the widespread concubinage, but tolerated it, a concubinarian was dogmatically faithful! Just as he, following the example of the popes, also opportunistically tolerated prostitution.

The establishment of several elementary schools and grammar schools also served to combat heresy and consolidate his own faith, as did the university founded in 58z, whose theological and philosophical chairs he transferred to the Jesuits, on whom he repeatedly relied.'-.

&i all the beauty that Julius Echter created, he achieved the most beautiful triumph of his divinely ordained work through the unbirthed destruction of the witches.

That suited his asceticism.

Although the prince-bishop loved luxury and splendor, although he lavishly furnished his buildings, he enjoyed representation, the pomp of processions, glittering family celebrations, days of revelry, but also the expense of so-called divine services. Echter liked to show off his own wealth to distinguished guests, and also loved grandiose appearances at foreign courts, such as in Vienna, where he once appeared with an escort of six dozen horses. But privately, personally - and this is often emphasized by biographers in Austria in such cases - he was a very modest, simple, downright spartan man, who despised even laughter as useless and God-annoying, and who repeatedly - at night - would arm himself with a whole arsenal of

instruments, more terrible than any absolute ruler of his time.

However, there is something narrow-lipped and sour-faced about the gentleman's physiognomy. Any kind of
-Physicality was repugnant to him. He also grew up in an all-male world, brought up in a domestic plan; indeed, both his father Peter III Echter von Mespelbrunn and his brothers were originally intended to become clerics. And the bishop kept his distance from women, even where his own clan was concerned. He chased a close relative out of his castle Auf Unserer Lieben Frauen Berg with her children immediately after taking office - one of his first "acts of government" - simply because she was a woman! He also took little care of his four sisters, to put it generously, and just as little of his mother - "she was hardly mentioned again in his entire life" (Meisner). It was only in her last hours that the prodigal son came and gave her
"personally" the last rites. Echter's misogynistic behavior over the ages is almost reminiscent of the unkind spirit of those ancient monks who did not even look at their own mothers, who even threw stones at women like unwelcome cattle.

The prince-bishop and Duke of Franconia was thus predestined to be a misogynist. He was the first to systematically persecute witches in his diocese, and their persecution reached "a macabre climax" at the end of his reign, although at the time many people suspected or clearly recognized the terrible injustice of this centuries-long madness.

Even his own brother, Dietrich Echter, said in 6oo: - *Dear Keller, you will never do wrong to a man in such matters.*- And when i6xx the lay judges of the Remlingen centenary court refused to execute the accused at the request of Count Wolfgang zu Castell, but the bishop did not want his salutary] ustice work to be hindered by the count, he agreed to the killing of those accused of witchcraft, but emphasized *that in such hidden cases* injustice could be done to **poor** people, who were also God's creatures and created in his image ... -'-

In a similar vein, Philip the Magnanimous, Landgrave of Hesse, had already "not to proceed too hastily in this matter" and it was "a dubious thing, as many people could be wronged by persecution". And i y8q the Cologne councillor Hermann Weinberg wrote about "sorcery": -"Some do not believe in it at all, consider it fantasy, reverie, foolishness, dichmng, uselessness." Nor has he himself ever seen a woman capable of making hares, dogs, cats, mice, snakes, toads, flying through the chimney with a goat ..." Hans Sachs has already sung this:

> -The devil's eternity and
> reutterey Is only ghost and
> fantasy ... If you recognize God
> in faith
> So no ghost can harm you".

Of course, the vast majority of those stultified by tradition and the spirit of the age thought differently, but not everyone. And when Michel de Montaigne, famous for his "Essais", was confronted by a dozen witches in the lands of a free prince - "to rebuke my incredulity", the philosopher, as a man who would not allow his judgment to be swayed by bias, said: "In the end, and to my knowledge, I would rather give them hellebore than the poisoned cup. Capiisque *res* mngis *mentibus, quam consceleratis vixa similis* (And the thing looked more like madness than wickedness, Li-

There were already some alarming publications polemicizing **vius VIII, 18)».**
against the delusion, which the well-read bishop must have been aware of, such as that of the Catholic theologian Cornelius Loos, who was imprisoned several times and forced to recant, and who called the witch trials a newfound alctomy, namely the art of turning blood into gold. Also well known is the book "De praestigiis daemonum" by Johann Weyer, a pupil of Agrippa von Nettesheim and personal aide to Duke Wilhelm V of Cleve, which was published in 5öj and indexed by the church. And in some German countries, in

the Calvinist Electoral Palatinate, in the Erasmian duchies of Jülich-Kleve-Berg, the governments generally rejected witch executions towards the end of the i6th century. Towards the end of the sixth century, the governments generally rejected the execution of witches.

However, Julius Echter was not impressed by authors and works that advocated the aforementioned practices. The "Bishopric of Würtzburg" was praised precisely because its "bishop" had started the burning of witches in Franconia / how he wanted to continue it / and to exterminate the evil / and had already started fierce fires in Geroltzhofen ... - As also, according to another contemporary source, -ihro Fuerstl. The Prince ordered / and commanded the officials / to start a fire every week / on Tuesdays outside of high feast days / and not to burn / and to burn / every f z . or ao. or at least f and less / than i y. on one occasion / and this is what his prince wanted. Grace wanted to continue and drive this through the entire bishopric ..."

It was not the incited people, but the bishop, from whom the in itiative for the pogroms, who, with increasing age and increasing stubbornness, also forced them, who always worked more energetically on the great burning, who spurred on defaulters, reprimanded delays, too high bills, who even forbade the "executioner's banquets", all of course out of - care for his subjects", a pastoral endeavor widely regarded as a "pogrom".
-(WeiB), also known in Westphalia as "Wirzburgisch werck".

Indeed, it was the ßishop who colluded with foreign officials, who provided official assistance, who tried to make the witch hunts more productive, who supervised the courts with "witch commissioners", who sentenced the accused himself according to the law of the time against the law, who even had the dead dug up and burned, such as Margaretha ScheubenaBin from Stollberg, who died suddenly in prison (always an act of the devil!).) schoolmistress Margaretha ScheubenaBin from Stollberg, who died suddenly in prison because she was *not worthy of the earth.*

It was the bishop who not only used minors, children of twelve, ten years or even younger, as incriminating witnesses against their parents and other relatives, but also gave them the opportunity to

testify themselves.

the process; whereby, of course, Ironic the story,
The magnificent building erected by him, Julius, the Juliusspital, as a - The main danger spot for young people suspected of witchcraft.

Incidentally, people continued to believe all kinds of nonsense, such as that three- and five-year-olds were already having orgiastic fun with their hellish books in droves at witch dances. The pact with evil made the witches highly dangerous and capable of any trick of the devil, which is why in Würzburg they were made to stand on a red sandstone slab with engraved crosses during their interrogation to prevent their invisible escape - with constant success!"

According to the archives, the witch fires in Würzburg did not actually begin until around the i ygos, for example in the royal seat itself or in Gerolzhofen (where the count and aldermen were constantly drunk at the trials). However, the gruesome events became more frequent and culminated in Echter's last years.

The Rothenfels district alone records almost a hundred witch victims in i 5 years. Only in Freudenberg in Würzburg do fifty unfortunate people fall victim to the horror in i 6i *6.* In the small town of Gerolzhofen, gg people were burned to death or killed in other ways between i 6i 6 and i 6i9 in September i 6i 6, a year before Echter's death. And soon, to make the hard work easier, there are special incinerators (forerunners of Auschwitz) - and the same progress, here for reasons of economy, to reduce the large consumption of wood, in nearby Zeil in Bamberg (where the process8 records have almost completely disappeared).

RiR I I. JHfl' >7th *İfl quarter of a year before Echter's death, he proclaimed from the cathedral pulpit that more than 3oo " w itches" and " h eretics" had been burned in his name within a year - this **figure** does not include those in prison or under the
Torture; just as the numbers of witch trials in France as a whole are unknown, many protocols have not yet been translated or analyzed, and many others have presumably been destroyed.'-.

Of course, the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg and Duke of Franconia was no monster.

It is true that he did not provide the accused with defense lawyers, that he allowed even less credible inspections to be used as evidence, that he even had those sent away by the judges (because of absurd charges) recaptured and tortured again, that he had escape helpers killed, that he had particularly malicious sorceresses and magicians pinched several times with red-hot pincers before they were liquidated ... - but the pastor bonus, this -undoubtedly- "so outstanding ... Humanist- {Meisner), was also full of compassion for his victims. When they had been almost destroyed, reduced to a mass of twitching, stumbling flesh, he sometimes had them treated by doctors and barbers, only to torture t h e m again when they were reasonably fit and halfway cured. T h e y were also usually strangled or beheaded before being cremated, pure pity on the part of Christians. However, if they were burned alive, gunpowder bags were hung around the condemned to shorten the procedure, on the prelate's instructions. The prelate also insisted on professional executioners, perfect neck-cutters and burners, so that the poor would not be tortured even more at the beginning of the fire.

Well, it couldn't have been any milder. And before they went to heaven or hell, the bishop had the sacraments administered to them so that they would not fall into despair or even the fear of death before being strangled or beheaded. So much consideration! Of course, there were quite a few who no longer felt this delicacy: they killed themselves in prison. Bishop Echter had to d e a l "again and again with the unusually high number of deaths" (Weiß}. And he could not help suicides even after death, while h e prayed regularly and fervently for the salvation of others.

Fehler's friend and successor]ohann Gottfried von Aschhau- sen, already Bishop of Bamberg, continued the gorr- pleasing work. Right at the beginning of his reign in Würzburg, he had x6i 8
"in all churches a prayer of several days for the eradication of witchcraft was ordered, on the one hand; on the other hand, of course, sensitively

as friend Echter decreed for the salvation of the souls of the cremated an annual memorial for the souls, yes, in his will - a permanent memorial for the souls "*.

While the -Frankish witch bishops- together with Bavaria, with its - two most pious princes who ever ruled over the country- {Soldan-Heppe}, with William V and Maximilian I i- * 4 f.), consolidated post-Tridentine Catholicism and formed the spearhead of the resurgent papal church in Central Europe, the neighboring Catholic country of the Habsburgs stood by their side, with which we continue our general historical consideration.

HABSBURG SAVES AUSTRIA FOR THE PAPACY

Unlike in Bavaria, in the Austrian hereditary lands, where the Augsburg Peace of Religion did not apply and the most notorious advocates of the phrase -cuius regio eins religio- only prevailed under great unrest.

No wonder. The conditions had been rejected, the old church was despised. Passing nuncios, Morone, Mignarelli, the lieutenants of Paul III, found Austria appallingly neglected, deserted, the parishes almost without clergy, the monasteries deserted, abandoned by monks. In Willen Abbey, Cardinal Legate Alean- der found only one religious besides the abbot. The Pope's envoys were horrified, spoke of ruin and great chaos, and of course Protestant propaganda knew how to exploit the outrageous conditions. However, despite enormous concessions in some cases, the sovereigns, who in the Habsburg hereditary lands usually filled the bishoprics with candidates from the House of Habsburg and were personally more or less pious Catholics with occasional political distance from the popes, did not want a Lutheran country church. This is how a be-

The region, which was already semi-Protestant and dominated by neo-pious nobles and towns, became Catholic again in the first half of the century.

Emperor Charles V had separated the Austrian hereditary lands from the empire as a whole and handed them over to his younger brother Ferdinand I, his loyal temporary deputy in the empire. He ruled over these Austrian lands from the early 1920s, became i z6 King of Hungary and Bohemia and, after Charles' abdication, his successor. As a politician of the Empire, he acted as a mediator with the Protestants from the middle of the century; as sovereign he promoted the Catholic Church in the hereditary lands, especially the Jesuits, by founding numerous colleges and appointing Peter Canisius (p. i6y f.), but without being able to prevent the growth of Protestantism.

5 4 he divided the Habsburg territories between his three sons. The eldest, Maximilian II, the head of the casa d'Austria in the German line and later emperor, was given Bohemia and the Habsburg lands.

and Hungary the Duchy of Austria above and below the Enns {Upper and Lower AustriaJ with Vienna as its capital; Archduke Ferdinand received Tyrol and the Forelands, Vorderösterreich, with Innsbruck as its capital; Archduke Karl ruled in Graz over ln- ner Austria {Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Gorizia}.

Initially, Lutherans were tolerated, albeit more de facto than de iure, but the nobility and bourgeoisie were almost united and self-consciously opposed to "papist idolatry" and to priestly marriage, the lay chalice and changes to the canon. In Vienna, where Catholic influence at the university was beginning to wane and many of Luther's writings had been printed, Peter Canisius was surprised that there were still no martyrdoms of faithful Christians in the city on the Danube.

Catholics there. And as late as i57• , the Protestants in the Lower Austrian Ständehaus put up spoti pictures, including (to-

at least in the zo. Century) a pig with a rosary in its mouth. However, the Protestant church in Austria (with a minority of Calvinists) was not formally organized, without superintendents, without a consistory, without training centres for young theologians.

In the center o f Protestantism, in Upper Austria, the old Land ob der Enns with the provincial capital Linz, around the turn of the•7-century, o percent of the rural population,7s percent of the city dwellers and 8 y percent of the nobility embraced the Wittenberg Reformation. Almost all of Ingrian Austria had become Protestant, i.e. Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the County of Gorizia, the territories of Austrian Friuli, Austrian Striae and Trieste, a group of countries that largely belonged to the dioceses of the Archbishops of Salzburg and the Patriarchs of Aquileia.

However, Lutheranism also spread considerably in Bohemia, where Utraquism, the demand for lay chruches, was particularly widespread, in Hungary, whose nobility became largely Calvinist, and in Transylvania, where the Srhlachr hei Mohécs (z Jz6) was an auronomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty and thus outside the immediate Habsburg sphere of influence. Xatholics, anti-Trinitarians, Anabaptists and other splinter groups were also tolerated here, partly because the "sovereign", the Voyvoda, was too weak, and partly because the Sultan had no intention of proselytizing, preferring t o incorporate Islam into his sphere of power rather than impose his religion.

The Habsburgs' policy, however, was initially characterized by confessional considerations and concessions, as they, financially and militarily dependent, needed the tax money of their peoples to fight the Turks, but especially the willingness of the Hungarian nobility to fight back, on whose uneasy border with the Ottomans, despite official peace, a constant small-scale war prevailed.*

When Emperor Ferdinand I. - s*4• died, he was succeeded by his son, the lively Maximilian II l* 5 4-* ä7*1› whom he admittedly had little confidence in.

The new ruler, whose personal relationship to religion has never been fully clarified, was certainly inclined towards confessional balance, a peaceful middle ground, but this was no longer an option. For political reasons - consideration for the imperial dignity, the Spanish succession, the granting of aid to the Turks, for which the Pope's benevolence was important - he remained in power.

formally Catholic and affirmed iy66 at the beginning of Pius V's reign: -Never will we fail in our filial obedience to Your Holiness and in the services which may be expected from the protector and defender of the Church; nothing of all that should and can be done for the advantage and benefit of Christendom on our part by virtue of the imperial office will we omit.

Maximilian, however, had already stopped going to communion f o r a decade, considered the cult of saints to be idolatrous and, when his temporary court preacher Martin Eisengrein, a good Catholic man, called Mary and all saints at the end of a sermon, called this -not contemporary. The Duke of Bavaria once wrote to him: -I beg Your Majesty by God - for I can ask no higher - that you would open the eyes of your mind and declare yourself against us Catholics in such a way that, after a long and heartfelt request, we may know for once with good reason what we have against Your Majesty in causa religionis."

Maximilian, nothing less than a convinced Catholic, distrusted theological dogmatics, considered any religious dispute pointless and granted the Lower Austrian nobility and their subjects freedom of worship through the religious asylum purchased from the estates. He also tolerated, albeit only verbally, which was not legally binding, the Confessio Bohe- mica, the common confession of the Utraquistcri, Bohemian Brethren and Calvinists.
-pay huge sums of money.

The Curia occasionally feared that the Emperor would convert to the Augsburg Confession, even move against Rome, which is why the Pope was already looking for troop assistance through the captain of his Swiss guard, Jost Segesser, in case the Holy See was "approached". This Habsburg certainly sympathized with the Protestant movement and favoured it as sovereign in Austria. He appointed the Lutheran theologian David Chyträus from Rostock, consorted with Protestant princes, harmonized with them politically and personally, had many Protestants at his court himself, and also owned a "Lutheran library - and is said to have had a Lutheran library".

refused the sacraments on his deathbed and died a Protestant.

But the pope, the gentle Pius V, the former Generaliiiqui- sitor and later saint, who "persecuted heretics - relentlessly persecuted and
drove allJ uden, aside the few he needed for commercial reasons, out of the Papal States, the Pope could not help crying in pain at the -deceptive double game- played by the "cunning emperor" (from
Pastor) and regretted the help he had given the monarch against the Turks*'

In reality, Maximilian 11 left Austria and the empire reasonably calm at his death thanks to his policy of neutrality towards the conflict between the confessions. However, Protestantism continued to expand and Catholicism reorganized and consolidated.

However, while many people in Austria in the second half of the i 6th century seem to have more or less
"spontaneously joined the Reformation, the - Protestantization" took place, whereby the cities and the landed gentry played a special role, while the -communal Reformation", the not distinctly authoritarian Reformation, played a certain, albeit still little researched, role, the catholic confessionalization, the conversion of the subjects to the
-The Viennese historian Thomas Winkelbaueq emphasizes that the "all-salvific" faith was "brought about and ultimately enforced exclusively through persuasion and coercive measures 'from above'", i.e. through the more or less s y s t e m a t i c cooperation of the ruling class, the prince, the bishops, the parish and religious clergy and the aristocratic landowners."

After the death of the emperor {i 5y6), however, the Habsburgs, pushed more by the papacy than by the episcopate and supported by a still considerable Old Believer potential, attacked the Protestant movement ever more fiercely; the driving forces behind this were the papal nuncio Alfonso Visconti, the Passau bishop Urban von Trenbach and in particular his official, the later Viennese Ober-

shepherd Melchior Klesl, a converted baker's son, whom Rudolf II. appointed counter-reformer at the end of February i 5qo.

Even the least of Maximilian's two brothers was au-
Archduke Ferdinand II i- f 4-* iq5), who ruled over Tyrol and the provinces extending as far as Freiburg im Breisgau. Although he once confessed, -I am a Catholic prince and want to remain so with God's help; God could also hear me.
I would not punish him for letting me be dissuaded from the Catholic faith ¡ indeed, he declared that he had won the church for defense and that it would cost me my blood.¡ But this danger hardly existed in Tyrol. Since here, unlike in other parts of the country, the nobility, high clergy and bourgeois upper class stood together against the Reformation and Lutheranism was pretty much wiped out in the wake of the Peasants' War, the confessional system was no longer an issue for the Diet, at least not until the middle of the century. Nevertheless, Ferdinand II, who soon gained a reputation for oppressing the clergy with taxes and interfering with their rights, issued a religious mandatary in i y 66, which was renewed several times, and in i y 85 presented his subjects with a choice: accept the Catholic faith or emigrate.

Ferdinand's brother Charles II, Archduke of Inner Austria (i y6q-z 5qo), the center of the Austrian Counter-Reformation, took an even tougher line. And his son and successor, Archduke Ferdinand III (i 5Q J-I ö3), the post-Austrian Emperor Ferdinand II, also continued the counter-Reformation course without compromise - in stark contrast to the bishops, who were rarely very religious and rarely very reform-minded, who sometimes avoided consecration and even expressly refused to confirm the reform decrees in writing. Raised strictly religious from an early age, drilled by Jesuits for years in Ingolstadt in a principled manner and
-spiritually mentored throughout his life- (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche), Ferdinand swore during a trip to Rome in Loreto that he wanted to eradicate "heresy" in his countries.

Although Charles II, Ferdinand's predecessor and father, initially made concessions to the new believers, he granted the Styrian nobility the so-called Re-

ligion pacification, the assurance of the free exercise of denomination -

"The Turk is the fortune of the Lutherans" - now a *saying* of the Catholics -, was joined abet; supported by a newlys7i established by Rome, at the courts in Graz, Innsbruck, Munich,

Salzburg accredited Upper German papal nuncio, i §7 q in a joint program with Bavaria, to which he was already bound by his marriage to Maria of Wittelsbach, his niece {!}.

and attacked Lithuanianism, which was not protected by the privileges of the estates.

Especially Sixti V. {i 58y-i ypo), "the iron pope", who not only had thousands of highwaymen publicly executed, but also ordered death for investing, prostitution, abortion, sodomy and adultery, drove the Archduke, whose son Leopold became Bishop of Passau and Safiburg and whose son Karl became Bishop of Breslau, to take tougher action. The Holy Father made use of his nuncio in Graz, Gian Andrea Caligari, who, in his overzealousness, was still far too slow in eliminating Protestantism, so that he requested his dismissal at5 7 - too soon, as it turned out.

showed itself.

The court and administration were soon sacked, the Protestants were chased out of the city council and Protestant worship was banned. With the help of Jesuits appointed to Graz - their local college had become a university x 583 - and with Slavic

•Gangs of robbers from the Dalmatian mountains in Styria and Carniola threw down a large number of Lutheran peasants, crowned their "Emperor Ilia with a glowing crown, beheaded and hanged other rebels, threw them off cliffs to their deaths, closed heretical schools and churches, destroyed them, ransacked cemeteries, Lutheran catechisms, prayer books and hymnals were confiscated, in Graz, where the Jesuits received five barrels of Catholic propaganda material in the year i 6oo, Bibles and other Satanic writings were burned in the same year i zooo, Catholic preachers were imprisoned and chased away, and the citizens were forcibly and systematically c o n v e r t e d to Catholicism.

Between xygq and 1600 alone, when Ferdinand continued his father's harsh approach, it is said that Carinthia and Styria

Sooo Protestants -to be emigrants-. And since the early *7th century, the Habsburgs equated Protestantism with treason, rebellion and chaos. -Shortly after the turn of the century, the Protestant church system in inner Austria was almost completely destroyed. The era of secret Protestantism began" (H.R. Schmidt). Protestant congregations continued to exist in Austria for a long time.

empire, but they were forbidden to worship until*7 • . And until then, for more than two hundred years, the Habsburgs practiced recatholization **in the service of** their dynasty.'-.

Expulsions and rebellion also occurred in a clerical principality that stretched between Austria and Bavaria, the Etzstiü Salzburg, under Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau.

His predecessor Jacob had already worried the Curia. -For many years," reported Nuncio Giovanni Delfino i yy Cardinal Gal- li, Gregory VIII's secretary of state, "the archbishop enjoyed his large income, but one never heard that he used a small amount for the service of the Church.

It was hoped that the successor would be better. Related through his mother to the Medici and high curates, such as the then canonized Cardinal Charles Borromeo, Dietrich was educated in Rome in the house of his uncle, Cardinal Marcus Sitticus Alt- emps, and for five years in the Collegium Germanicum, the Jesuit house. At the age of eleven he collected his first ecclesiastical benefice, at fifteen he became provost of the cathedral in Basel, soon afterwards canon in Salzburg, and a t t h e age of twenty- eight he was lord of the archbishopric, one of the noblest of all, and this two years before the canonically required age.

The Curia saw Dietrich von Raitenau as "a true striver of God", and Pope **Sixtus** V encouraged him in a letter of wishes to "break the lightning of the heretics" and to "direct the deadly bullets of the unbelievers at them". At the beginning of his reign, the archbishop was also energetically committed to Catholic confessionalization. As early as i y8y, he issued a "Reformation Patent", according to which anyone in his residence city who did not wish to become Catholic had to leave the country within a few weeks (the expulsion from the country was introduced in the• 7 and i 8th centuries).

a punishment imposed by the authorities). However, the metropolitan not only chased hundreds of long-established Protestant families into neighboring Austria, but also oppressed his subjects with taxes and impositions and celebrated lavish parties with his mistresses for decades, until his neighbor Maximilian of Bavaria, led by economic interests {salt production and salt trade) and disputed claims to sovereignty after the archbishop's occupation of Berchtesgaden, invades Salzburg and takes him prisoner along with his "harem and treasures" (Vehse); i öi z he is taken away and imprisoned for the rest of his life E*7 äUf Hohensalz-
castle imprisoned.

However, Bavaria had already waged another and larger war against a prince of the church a few decades earlier.

THE CoLnEnt WAR "TO PROPncixRun's THE HOLY Gospel"

The prehistory of the conflict leads us back to the bishop on whose person it was directly ignited, the nephew of the Augsburg Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, to Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, a man whose life, at least in some respects, is just as reminiscent of the Salzburg pastor a s his relationship with Rome, where people were soon no less concerned about him than they were about Dietrich von Raitenau.

However, since Gebhard - incidentally a personal friend of Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, who had successfully promoted him at the Curia - soon invoked the Tridentine Creed, favored the Jesuits and threatened the Calvinists, and also appeared very Catholic everywhere, even declaring that he would rather lose his head than separate from the Catholic Church, Rome ignored his disreputable past life, ignored the fact that, if the rumor was true, he had "tyrannically shot, stabbed and killed two or three people" {von Weinsberg), ignored the fact that he had "tyrannically shot, stabbed and killed two or three people" {von Weinsberg), ignored

also condemned his drunkenness, which, moreover, as Nuncio Giambattista Castagna indicated to the Cardinal's secretary, w a s an almost national custom, and confirmed his dignity. {The Bishop of Münster, Minden and Osnabrück, Franz von Waldeck, was also a drunkard and he was not alone. After all, vice had a certain tradition among the clergy, as bishops had to be carried off the altar full of booze as early as the Merovingian period or they literally drank themselves o u t o f t h e i r minds: cf. IV a6q f.).

Archbishop Gebhard did not go into himself either, at least not in the sense of Rome. Rather, while he strove to complete his "divine Christian work", the "work of God himself", his

• His main activity - allegedly continuing in wild binges that regularly ended in drunkenness - "almost every day full and drunk". At the same time, he began to recognize the "errors of popery" more and more. And since his -conscience- also urged him to marry a noblewoman (whose family also urged him), the ecclesiastical elector iy8z took possession of his residential city of ßonn, granted his diocesans religious freedom on i6. January i y8j he granted his diocesans religious freedom, renounced Catholicism, proclaimed his conversion to the Confessio Augustana and married on February z in Bonn {where he needed two hundred and sixty horses for his court alone) the beautiful Countess Agnes von Mansfeld, a Lutheran nun from Gerresheim, with w h o m he had been publicly in a love affair for several years, roughly since his election confirmation from Rome.

But while Archbishop Gebhard thought he had been snatched away from the darkness of the papacy by the benevolent God and was close to the secularization of the archbishopric, while rumours were circulating about his

- Count Palatine Johann Casimir's intention to become a Calvinist, and he certainly believed that as a man who had fallen away from the faith of his fathers and as a husband he could also remain head of the church in Cologne and have "a wife and an archbishopric at the same time"

{which Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg, administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, had afforded himself), the Holy Father saw this quite differently. With a Protestant archbishop of

Cologne, the majority of the electors would have been Protestant.

the next emperor could even have been a Protestant.

Gregory Xlll. i* 57*-E58 y), whose reign formed the high point of the actual Counter-Reformation, a pope who promoted the Jesuit order, who liked to throw around banishing curses as lavishly as he did, and who also approved of political assassination, now declared in the Bull of Deposition of

i. April i§ 83 Gebhard Trucksefi, although already deprived of all rights by himself, -aIs an obvious heretic, oathbreaker, rebel and excommunicate driven from the body of the Catholic Church like a rotten member and stripped of all dignities, benefices and offices". Pope Cregor called on Duke William V of Bavaria to intervene and recommended that the cathedral chapter, in which only a minority supported the archbishop, elect Ernest of Bavaria as his successor, as he had previously applied for the archbishopric.

So now the hour of the Bavarian duke, the bishop of Freising, of Hildesheim, of Liège, whom the pope now proposed for the archbishopric of Cologne, despite the Tridentine prohibition of cumularion, the accumulation of bishoprics, struck

{and a little later he also received the prince-bishopric of Münster). After Ernsr, the first Jesuit pupil among the high German prelates, had "got rid of" his rivals with money and Pope Gregory had paid considerable sums to the cathedral chapter ("Never," said Nuritius Malaspina, "have I found more venal people than in this Cologne chapter"), the duke was elected in the third ballot on z3. May i 583, the duke was elected archbishop of Cologne by the majority of the chapter - and until iy6i, Wittelsbachs occupied this bishop's see.

It is true that Duke Ernst, the initiator of this series, was initially reluctant to follow Cologne's election proposal. He had found it difficult to leave Bavaria for the sake of a love affair and had little desire to plunge into such a sea of hardships and tribulations; after all, he had only reluctantly become a clergyman and was as little celibate as his dismissed predecessor. He lived a "more than annoyingly dissolute" life, loved wild feasts, hunting and wine.

But apparently from his youth, and even as Archbishop of Cologne, he is said to have had "two or three lovers" - in public b e f o r e t h e eyes of the whole world without any shyness (Theiner). But it was precisely under him, on whom the Jesuits "exerted a powerful influence", von Pastor marvels, that the Catholic reform took a great leap forward.

But what did his Holiness care about morality when it came to saving Cologne and many territories of the empire, to which he was particularly devoted, for Catholicism. The pope confirmed the Bavarian in all his benefices and constantly chased new envoys into the world, influencing the emperor; the King of Spain, the German Catholic princes, the Cologne cathedral chapter, all around he soli c i t e d help for Ernest of Bavaria (iy83-i6ix), occasionally also for help with weapons, and despite his own poor finances, his money arrived all around, as late as March z y83 at least ioo ooo guilders in Vienna, until the fall qo ooo guilders in Munich. And while he made it clear to the Catholic potentates, as urgently as cunningly, how closely the interests of the House of Habsburg and the House of Wittelsbach were linked to the interests of the Catholic religion, i.e. to his own, Count Palatine Johann Casimii; a prince who was also completely un- utilitarian and who saw himself as "God's instrument for the promotion of his honor and glory", as a "Christian warrior" who had to "ensure peace through war", as is well known, the concern of Christianity at almost all times. Johann Casimir turned to the Queen of England, the King of Denmark and several electors for funds to recruit troops "in this so evident, Christian and just cause", as it was "for the glory of God and the propagation and expansion of his word and empire".

Fasr even more zealously against the flattery of the Roman Antichristes- and for Archbishop Gebhard's pure and holy cause- the Calvinist King Henry of Navarre, declared it in the years T 53i - 534 -to be more important than any that had been going on in Christendom for centuries - indeed knew of none so be-

he honored Johann Casimir, -of great importance for the ruiri of the papacy.

On the Catholic side, the only prince to enter the war with a Bavarian army was Wilhelm V. the Pious e n t e r e d the Cologne War with a Bavarian army, apart from the fact that Prince-Bishop Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn now also backed his electoral friend 6e1 - as had the Prince-Abbot of Fulda before him, that he supported the Witrelsbachers' war operas with "florins and soldiers", with more BIS4 ooo florins, whereby his own canons did not even know the true amount of the money, nor did they even suspect how much their bishop "had the merit that the Catholic troops at Nicderrhcin held the field ..." {von Pölnitz). However, the Bavarians received decisive support from Philip II's governor general in the Spanish Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza. The latter had already succeeded in regaining the southern Netherlands for Spain and now ravaged the entire Lower Rhine in a series of bloody conflicts - the first war between the confessional parties in the empire since i yy5. -The population suffered namelessly - {Brandi).

Archbishop Gebhard was still in office after the Spaniards arrived. on the day of his wedding fled from Bomi to Westphalia, whereupon he had freedom of conscience and confession proclaimed there, storms of prayer organized, altars smashed, churches robbed, Catholics suppressed, all for the propagation of the Holy Gospel; while in Cologne, for the propagation of the same Good News, the army of Archbishop Ernst - "an amiable character" (von Pastor) - was reinforced by Spanish mercenaries, on the 7- December i y83 he ruined the castle Godesberg, cut off the garrison, then at the end of January i y8¢ he bought Bons, the main place of arms of the archbishop's predecessor, from the mute garrison, bought two Calvinist preachers and killed twenty citizens. hung.

The conquest of Neuss was also conducted in a very Christian manner in 58ö. It had burned the relics of St. Quirin and, under the command of Friedrich Kloet, conquered the Spanish besiegers.

resisted for a long time. In the end, of course, the wicked city was half burned to the ground, some of the citizens and the garrison, allegedly around i oo people, partly in front of the archbishop, gruesomely killed, including the reformed preacher Christophorus Fesset; only recently deployed in Neuss, liquidated, his body hung from the window, then burned, commander Kloet, seriously wounded, strangled in bed. ln the same year, the Spanish also murdered7 inhabitants of **BefChem** on their £lue to Cologne.

Gebhard had lost all his treasure, but was able to to William of Orange in the Netherlands, while the "little war" for Cologne was continued - most cruelly - {Menzel), Gebhard's remnants of troops were defeated at Burg an der Yssel in March i 58d, and finally the Duchy of Westphalia was also deprived of its war power and, of course, Protestantism was no longer tolerated anywhere. In the spring of i 585, King Henry of Narvarra once again pleaded with Elizabeth of England for Gebhard's -fromme, for the whole of Christendom so extremely important thing". However, the queen, who had once been "most interested" in the German religious war, merely sent the failed man an - A1mosen- (sooo thaler) and did not lift a finger for him. However, the battles dragged on until i79• , according to some -until in into the•7. J ahrhundert - (Forsthoff).

The triumph of the Catholic Restoration is initially attributable neither to Duke William of Bavaria, the brother of the new archbishop, nor even to the emperor, but primarily to the initiative of the papal government. Thus J. Hansen {according to Rev. • best expert on the subject): "The Curia intervened in the Roman turmoil from the outset with great determination and certainty, and its policy could not be derailed by any obstacle ... Just as the Curia induced Duke Ernst to go to Cologne against his will and pursue his candidacy, just as it succeeded in persuading him to stay there, even though he wanted to leave several times, despairing of success, so it also knew how to steer the powerless and dependent imperial policy in its favor.

The war of the archbishops over the ecclesiastical principality of **Cologne**

was over after years of plundering and burning, animal and human slaughter and all kinds of atrocities, after an end that had already anticipated the suffering of the Thirty Years' War thirty years earlier, as I have not noticed for the first time.

In contrast to the confessional battles in the Empire, those in Western Europe, in France, the Netherlands, Scotland and England, were even more militantq even bloodier and more violent.

CHAPTER 8

STATE TERROR IN THE WEST THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE, ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE LATER i6. YEARS

-... where they took up arms again and again, in the Netherlands ... In all political matters the Spaniards showed themselves to be gentle, but implacable in ecclesiastical matters. It was unthinkable that the Prorcstants would have been allowed a church, only a private service: the preachers who were seized were donated. A religious war was waged with full awareness.
Leopold von Ranke'

"The official policy of the Flegrerung represented the unrelenting ***conf'amp[ing*** of *heresy,* the Tiiufec, Calvinists, the Ketians within the fortified church. In order to keep things under control, the government resorted to barbaric methods.
Handbook of European History III -

• The Huguenot Wars began, which caused France the heaviest casualties and the loss of the majority of its
Bring your own snllten.-
Ernst Mengin'

"Even if the reformers achieved some success at the beginning, the civil war continued with its inherent logic: from year to year it became more cruel. With growing bitterness and ever-increasing fanaticism, people fought, murdered, butchered and starved the towns.
Julien Coudy-

Since Philip's absence, the Queen relied more and more on Reginald Pole, who was the papal legate at the
io. November i 5q had landed in Dover. Now Ma- ria's religious policy was pursued with far greater vigor than before ... and the persecution of Protestants took on ever more militant forms. The funeral pyres had been burning in England since February i y 5 and by November

i yi8, about 3s of people died by fire. These cruel events earned Maria the &iname - the Bloody Ones. Later she was also called the
-Catholic - or the -Hispanic- Maria - Marita A. Panzer'

-If we r e g a r d Shakespeare as the most significant dramatist of the time, w e find in Queen Elizabeth the greatest actress of the era. As Elisabeth had a perfect command of Latin, Spanish, French and Italian, she loved long and detailed conversations with the ambassadors of foreign nations. In these conversations she educed more than she revealed herself and proved in this way that there was hardly anyone in her time who was a match for her in the arts of deception, evasion and lying.- Richard Bruce Wemham-

TERROR IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands had come into being through dynastic coincidences, had come to the House of Habsburg through a series of deathsfl*477 and had been linked to Spain. At the time of Charles V, himself a Dutchman by birth, the industry of the Netherlands flourished.

The Netherlands was "the most enviable state in Europe" {Friedrich Schiller), especially in foreign trade, but also in the domestic production of goods - in Antwerp alone, one of the richest cities on the continent, five hundred ships sailed in and out of the harbor every day, and five thousand traders did business on the stock exchange. Charles V, whose entire history of Dutch government, according to Schiller again, "was almost merely a continuous list of taxes demanded, refused and finally granted, Charles collected i Joo ooo livrcs, half of his total income, only from the three million inhabitants of these provinces, to whom he granted no religious freedom, but rather, like the Roman Church, demonized every heresy.

The innovations of the Reformation had already penetrated early on from neighboring countries, Lutheran and Anabaptist ideas from Germany, Zwingli's and Calvin's ideas from Switzerland and France. And the rejection of these and all -heresies- led to ruthless persecution, at times culminating in the fanaticism of the monks, especially the Dominicans, one of whom claimed that he would prefer to sink his teeth into Luther's throat and take communion with his blood in his mouth.

The first martyrs of the new faith appeared. On z.]uli

i In 5a3, the Augustinians Hendrik Vos and Jan van Esch were burned at the stake in Brussels, and the following year the fugitive Augustinian Hendrik van Zutphen, a student and friend of Luther, was liquidated in Holstein. And soon, year after year, Calvinists and, above all, Anabaptists, whose social revolutionary movement rejecting authority, marriage and personal property spread rapidly and in some Dutch towns, amounted to more than half of the population, were beheaded, burned and drowned for religious reasons. Eight hundred people died in the battle for a West Frisian monastery, which was taken by surprise and then defended in 33, including by bombardment with heavy artillery. And when, in the same year, Anabaptists suffocated the Amsterdam town hall and lost it again, tongues and hearts were ripped out of the ringleaders in revenge and hurled i n t o t h e faces of the dead and dying.

The Anabaptists in particular were relentlessly persecuted, even later. Jan de Zwakte's family, for example, mostly weavers in Hondschoote, represented Anabaptism from i 558 to 15 7 ern.
eighteen marriages - and to all appearances 'the catholi-
The authorities finally cut out the whole family (Parker).

BLUTOrFxR xIxnEoLaNDiCH CHRISTIANS UNDER THE EMPEROR

For decades, Charles V, in agreement with the papacy, had fought the Dutch heresies with his religious edicts, the so-called placards, and with the Inquisition, constantly intensifying their oppression and, just a few years before his resignation, in one of his worst decrees on a5. September *i S* $o: - No one may print, copy, reproduce, preserve, conceal, sell, buy or give away any book or writing by Martin Luther, Johann Oecolampadius, Ulrich **Zwingli,** Martin Butzer, Johann Calvin or other heretics rejected by the Holy Church; -

no one may break or otherwise damage the images of the holy]unghau or canonized saints; - no one may hold conventicles or unlawful meetings in his house or attend assemblies in which the followers of the above-mentioned heretics teach, baptize and conspire against the holy church and the general welfare."

Furthermore, the decree prohibits the laity from participating in both public and secret discussions or disputations - about the Holy Scriptures, especially about all doubtful or difficult doctrines.- Likewise, the Sovereign forbids the dissemination of any "heretical" opinion, "secretly or publicly", and decrees that all those who dissent shall be punished as disturbers of the state and the general peace as follows: men shall be buried alive, women shall be buried alive, if they do not persist in their errors; if they persist, they shall be put to death by fire; in both cases, all their property shall be subject to confiscation by the Crown. We forbid any person to harbor, harbor, provide food, fire or clothing, or in any other way support any person who is generally suspected of heresy, and any person who fails to report such a person shall himself be liable to the above penalties.

The losses of the Dutch Protestants during Charles' reign were estimated at5 o ooO and far more people, from the Venetian Gesaridten at the imperial court {anno i $d S) to
3OOOO. Schiller also speaks of tens of thousands of victims. However, only about i 3oo executions a r e d o c u m e n t e d . But Charles had already b r o u g h t the Spanish Inquisition to the Netherlands, the funeral pyres appeared under him, and occasionally a delinquent, such as the Calvinist Bertrand Le Blas in Tournai, first had both hands chopped off, before he was burned - even if people repeatedly and still today try to idealize "the working methods of the spiritual inquisitors in **Spain"**, even portraying the terrible tortures as "fables", "fairy tales", "nonsense" and denying the Church's approval. - Cutting and

burning was only practiced by the secular criminal prosecution, from which the procedure of the Inquisition stood out positively ...- (van der Lem)

KING EH l LIrP I I. - -AcLEs UxTER nEM
FACEw I NKEL OF C H I RICAL INTEREST . . ."

When Emperor Charles on z y. October i 5 5 $ in Brussels, the then seventeen Dutch provinces were transferred to his son Philip II, the future King of Spain { i yy6-i 5q8}, these lands increasingly became a kind of battlefield; Philip was determined to carry out his father's will, the ruthless &heresy, not only to stop its progress, but to eradicate it completely; whereby the Spanish Augustinian Lorenz of Villavincencio advised the pious king not to look at o ooo institutions if necessary, even though t h e y w o u l d probably lead to the goal.

The Netherlands also waged a national liberation struggle, perhaps the most grandiose in European history, and a successful one at that, in which many Catholics, laymen and priests alike, sympathized with the Protestants without abandoning their church. It was therefore often difficult to make a clear distinction between Catholics, Protestantizing Catholics and Protestants in the very heterogeneous groups. And when the Dutch Inquisition was abolished, there were even more effective measures to curb "heresy". Yes, the time came when "the *church question* began to *dominate politics"*, when the *"heresy hunt ...* was officially on the agenda". -It quickly became the burning issue that pushed all others into the background - (Handbook of European History). Philipp himself confessed that he was there too,

where he seems to be fighting political rebels politically, in truth he wants to fight and eradicate "heresy", the "nutrient of aiifruhr".

The Civil War or War of Independence became a religious war and brought Philip to the lowest point of his power - perhaps the worst defeat of his life" (Bih1meyer/Tüch- le). This led to the separation of the Netherlands, the southern ones remained Habsburg and Catholic, the northern ones became Protestant and led to the Republic of the United Netherlands, separated from Spain {since i yq6}, for the papacy henceforth Missio Hol- landica -, mission territory '*

Philip II, of whom Schiller says that "egoism and religion are the content and the heading of his entire life", had brought in the Jesuits early on and, together with Pope Paul IV, restructured the Dutch church (instead of four
now i 8 dioceses, including• 4 new foundations) sought to control heresy more strictly and stop the Reformation. In doing so
- one of the most significant novelties - two canons from each diocese would be the inquisitors in their diocese.

However, neither the bishopric project, unpopular with the nobility and the people alike, nor a tougher anti-Reformation course could prevent the spread of Protestantism, in this case mainly Calvinism. Nor could Margaret, the Duchess of Parma, his half-sister, an illegitimate but later legitimate daughter of Charles V, a member of the ruling dynasty and, like her father, born in the Netherlands. Her strongest supporter, the bishop and later cardinal An- toine Perrenot de Granvelle, the "king's man" in the Brussels Council of State and actual regent, was certainly not a missionary of the Catholic cause, but as an advocate of Spanish-Habsburg centralism, he was so detested that Philip i5 6q dismissed him.
had to be appointed.

The king, who had already left the ancestral lands of his house for good in 55q in order to henceforth sit alone and suspiciously shy in the seclusion of his castles, especially in the Escorial, where

he enjoyed the view from his bedroom to the "Blessed Sacrament" in the high altar of the church - and his mistresses, where he devoted almost more energy to the defense of the Catholic Church than to the world power of **an** empire that encompassed Spain, Spanish America, Portugal, the Netherlands, Burgundy, Milan, Naples and Sicily. -His ecclesiastical devotion was unrestrained. He attended mass every day, as well as sermon and vespers on feast days. The confessor was his constant advisor and exerted the greatest influence on him; he took part in all business, as the king used to consider and examine everything from the point of view of ecclesiastical interest" {Rachfahl). Of course, experience also taught him "that, in addition to the damage done to the service of God, the upheaval of religion also leads to female subversion; the poor, the poor and the vagabonds often use this opportunity to attack the goods of the rich." '-

On his departure on z y. August i y 5q from the Netherlands nothing was closer to Philip's heart than securing the autocracy of the old church, his care seemed inexhaustible. Nor did he forget to order the Duchess shortly before his embarkation in Vlissingen - the last measure in the land of the Fathers - to **put** some of the "heretics" imprisoned in Middelburg under torture and to search for accomplices, as well as to urge the sultans to activate the Inquisition and make it a success.

After his much-desired homecoming, however, Philip immediately thanked heaven by celebrating an auto-da-fé and burning twelve protesters, some of them alive. General Inquisitor Valdés asked Her Majesty to swear with the royal right hand on her bared sword - that she would lend the sacred office of the Inquisition and its servants all necessary protection and protection against heretics and apostates, as well as against all those by whom they are defended and favored, and no less against anyone who should directly or indirectly hinder the effectiveness of the sacred office, that she will furthermore compel all subjects and children of the country to obey the law.

obedience and observance of the apostolic precepts and ordinances ... - etc. etc.*4

In the Netherlands in particular, the tyranny of the Spaniards increased, the persecution of the faith grew, the exploitation of the people, especially to finance Philip's **hugely** expensive wars against France, but also to support the llandrian warriors, who received around 3ooooo guilders a month from Spain, although it is estimated that they received four times as much. Added to this were the excesses of the soldiers, their mistreatment of the people, the relegation of locals to higher offices, the refugees, estimated at 5oooo to Jooooo.

In short, the aristocracy of the high nobility and many

The growing opposition in the cities, which also involved Protestant circles, led to increasing dissatisfaction, the growing resistance of Prince William of Nassau-Orange, the Counts Egmont and Hoorn, and the lower nobility of the -geuzen - a name which is said to derive from those too, according to another reading almost too knights, who presented a petition concerning religious policy in Brussels on ş. On **April** *Z566* in Brussels, they presented a petition concerning religious policy, but their large number frightened the regent, so that Count Charles de Barlaymont, who was loyal to the government, remarked: - Rassurez-yous, ma- dame, ce n'est qu'un tas de gueux- (Calm down, madame, it's ntir a heap of beglec). At that time, the people of Uri adopted the term gueux/Bettler, and **later** everyone, nobles, Kaiifieute, fishermen who converted from the old religion to the new one, were called Geusen, "bush Geusen" in the country, "sea Geusen" at sea, and all Geusen wanted to be "Turkish rather than papal", as was written on their hats.

THE LEATHER STORM

In August x s66, a barbaric ßildcrsturm of the Calvinists began from Westphalia and spread to twelve provinces.

-Ein rasende Rotte-, writes Friedrich Schiller, -von Handwer-

cemen, sailors and peasants, mixed with public prostitutes, prostitutes and robbers, about a zoo in number, equipped w i t h clubs, axes, hammers, ladders and ropes, only a few of them armed with firearms and daggers, throw themselves, inspired by f a n a t i c a l rage, into the towns and villages near St. Omer, break down the gates of the churches and monasteries, which they find locked, by force .... .-

Hitherto a persecuted minority, suddenly persecuted, screeching Calvinist mobs poured across the countryside, occasionally encouraged by street urchins, but hardly disturbed, indeed only very rarely fought, whipped out of the country or even howled, once three in Antwerp, once on the spot near Grammont. They moved from place to place, from town to town, at least initially incited and driven by preachers. And if the social situation, the "-hongerjaar" i y66, certainly played a role in the actions, in Ghent, for example, there were also attacks on grain speculators, even among preachers and consistories there was no complete t)agreement in the assessment of these iconoclastic attacks - -there is plenty of evidence of this, that preachers and consistorials were in charge of the excesses and probably even had a hand in directing that the church abusers worked in their pay, and it was not only the mob ... - And, even more significant, all the ecclesiastical things were not destroyed in a fit of vandalism, of anarchy, but as corpora defi':tt of a **false,** a **curse-worthy** faith, as condemned testimonies of idolatry, as insults to God; - the basic motive of by far the largest part of the rioters was of a religious nature - {Rachfahl).

They broke up chapels, priory buildings and abbeys, smashed everything to pieces, smashed altars, statues, images of the Lord and the saints. They demolished crucifixes and monstrances, pulpits and choir stalls, baptismal fonts and organs. Countless art treasures were smashed, burned and stolen - the damage to St. Mary's Church in Antwerp alone was estimated at zoo ooo gold guilders. Consecrated hosts, flags and vestments were trampled in the dirt, boots were smeared with holy oil and many of the

vaunted libraries, ransacked graves; pulled out half-dead corpses, maltreated priests, monks, nuns, chased them away.

In just a few days, most of the churches and religious houses in those parts of what is now Belgium had been plundered and devastated; in Aritwerp, where the cathedral had been looted, no priest dared to go out on the streets, and there were no longer any Catholic services in most of Flanders, according to the regent's testimony, churches and monasteries in the zoo had been destroyed, but a total of 5ooo -cleaned-, whereby quite a few Christian temples, according to an eyewitness, looked more like cattle sheds than houses of God.

Margaret reacted with sham concessions, reneging and troop recruitment, but by the next summer Catholicism was once again the only recognized religion and the governor firmly claimed to have restored peace and order.

DUKE A LBA AND HIS **$DREAD REGIME**

But King Philip had sworn revenge, revenge - by the sea of my father. On 5. On November 5, i 5ö6, he spurred the Inquisi- tion into powerful action, and the next year he marched Duke Alba with ten thousand men, foot soldiers and horsemen, plus field chaplains and, as it was said, more than zooo whores: mostly "elite troops" from Spain and Italy, of which, incidentally, the **Pope** would have seen the heretical Geneva liquidated on their way north, as it were, in passing, -an enterprise, as Pius V, canonized a century later, told the ruler through his nuncio. had his nuncio present to the ruler - glorious for the king and useful for religion ... - And soon the insatiable hierarch of Alba also wanted an expert opinion on how he could "proceed against the Prince of Orange in order to seize his principality".

Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, entered the service of Charles V at an early age and then took part in many of his campaigns, i 5z 5 in the Battle of Pavia, i i >7 * FCldzug nach Ungarn, i y 3 5 in the ErobCFuftg voI2 TUFtlS {VII4451 Soon
He then became Charles's first military advisor, for whom he i s4*
He defended Catalonia and Navarre. • s4 against the Schmalkaldener at Mühlberg (VII44 f.). A decade later, as viceroy of Naples and captain-general in Italy, he fought against papal and French troops. And now, after the iconoclasm, the successful general was to crush all opposition to Philip and his rule in the Netherlands and, according to a secret instruction, he was to subjugate the country and its people so that there would be
-There is a king in every province and Brussels is the capital, like Paris in France."

In the Netherlands, where Alba arrived in Brussels at the end of August i 5 7 , Philip's sister Margareta soon uur still nominally ruled.
and then, humiliated and deeply hurt, left the country.
Alba set up a "Council of Troubles" (Conseil des Troubles), elected by the people.
• Blood Council", but even in our days it is still praised as the -codification and humanization of criminal justice-, as an achievement of stature- (van der Lem). In fact, the Council of Blood supported a six-year reign of terror, for the Dutch the epitome of brutal foreign rule.

The duke controlled everything, but especially the finances and the practice of religion. He sucked the population dry with hardly any taxes and fleeced the oppositional nobility and other & estates by confiscating their assets and corrupting their property as much as possible. The "Blood Council" sentenced those more or less involved in the uprising of i i - 5 7 to the partial or total loss of their property; over a thousand were liquidated. The Iron Duke - had Count Egmont (once victor for Philip in the war against France at Saint-Quentin and hei Gravelingcn) and Count Hoorn {for many years commander of Philip's personal bodyguard) executed on q. September i s 7 by a special detachment, imprisoned for nine months and ann y. June i 568

in front of the town hall in Brussels, mimicking compassion, pretending to be sick out of pain at the king's death sentence and lying that he had tried everything to mitigate it, even shedding tears as thick as peas at the execution. - Prior to this, however, Emperor Maximilian II had repeatedly p l e a d e d with him and Philip for the release or pardon of the two counts.

No one and nothing was safe from Alba's arbitrariness, his terror, not high, not low, not entire magistrates, not whole towns, over which strong castles were erected here and there. There were mass burnings of "heretical" books, expulsions and the flight of thousands. Around 6oooo, including many merchants and craftsmen, escaped Alba's despotism and fled to England, Emden and Wesel, Geneva and SrraBburg. There were clan arrests and deportations to Spain, where Count Hoorn's brother Montigriy, for example, was secretly hunted down in October i 3yo. There were mass arrests and mass executions. State murder followed state murder, by sword, by gallows, by fire. And since time and again condemned men (what a euphemistic word) confessed their convictions, their faith, even on their last journey, or to speak with Alba himself, - since we are informed that some obdurate delinquents, when they are led to death, do not stop pronouncing the name of Cotte blasphemously and spreading their poison, we want and order that such people's mouths be plugged at their execution so that they can no longer speak." The tyrant boasted of killing i 8,6oo people during his reign, mostly because of religion, but according to the code of the Blood Council, almost all Dutchmen were guilty of death.

Just a few months before his dismissal, in August - s73, Filba urged the king to r i d himself of the illusion that anything could ever be achieved in these provinces through leniency.
could be". In December, he also urged his successor Don Luis de Requesens to proceed "without all instruments of mercy, leniency, negotiation or talks with force of arms ... until all resistance is broken".

atich rejected all attempts at reconciliation by third parties: i y68 by the KaiS6f,i7• by the French,• 57s by the English and the Archbishop of Cologne.

It is significant that in a study of German-language journalism on the Eighty Years' War {I$66-i698), of almost 5oo pamphlets considered, only a quarter emphasized decidedly political or theological topics, while around half of all prints mainly dealt with "military" events! Compare this with later historiography)'-.

Towns were attacked again and again, plundered with unheard-of horrors, Mechelen for three full days, and Zutphen in a similar way. A commander of Orange heard the cries of the victims over many miles, Zutphen was razed to the ground, as was Naarden, where the inhabitants gathered obediently and unarmed in the Great Church and the Spaniards stabbed them to death - according to Alba's message to the king, "no mother son escaped". Starving Haarlem surrendered after a seven-month siege and the royal commander's assurance that no one would be harmed. The entire garrison, several magistrate officials, a total of sooo people were massacred and the survivors were forced to pay sooo ooo guilders as war reparations. Of the i 8 ooo inhabitants of Leyden, oooo died, most of them from hunger and plague.

Naturally, the new believers took to the night. A bloody war of extermination ensued. Around Haarlem, the "cemetery of the Spaniards", 8ooo of their own are said to have perished. The Geuse preferred to slaughter priests and monks, for example in Leyden, Enkhuizen, Alkmaar or in Gorkum, where they first gruesomely tortured clergymen and monks, then hanged them in a barn at night, wearing their cut-off noses and ears as trophies on their hats - Christians among themselves. (It is reminiscent of the way Catholic Croats treated many thousands of dogs in the middle of the zo. (It is reminiscent of the way Catholic Croats dealt with many thousands of dogs and even more horribly murdered Orthodox Serbs in the middle of the 20th century; but after all, don't we learn over time, in the course of salvation history?)*

Alba failed with all his cruelty. I §7i calls for and receives

he holds his dismissal. He is replaced by Don Luis Requesens, the latter by Don Juan d'Austria, Philip II's only brother, the latter by Alexander Farnese of Parma - all in just a few years: Triumphs and defeats, sieges, bloodbaths, battles, sackings, mutinies, state bankruptcies. The Geusen are victorious on the Schulde, Counts Louis and Henry of Nassau and Prince Christoph of the Palatinate die at Nijmegen, in the Battle of the Mokerheide. There is a massacre in Oudewater by the royal soldiery and the robbery and murder of Ant- werp by the Spaanse fiirie, "one of the most horrific atrocities of the i6th century" {Parker). century" {Parker), comes to the Pazi-

£cation of Ghent, to the First Union of ßrussels, which receives William of Offlnien i$77 -*'-mphal. On x$ March i5 8o, however, Philip IL, the mortal enemy whose loyal servant he had initially been, ostracized him, as had Charles V before him; on io. July x y84 , after several

murdered in Delft.

The Spaniards had set a price of 5,000 scudi on his head, and one who would have earned it but was seized beforehand, the Biscayan Jauregny, carried prayers among his papers in which he implored Christ to favor the murder, but obligingly promised heaven a share of the profits after the deed was done: -to the Mother of Gotres of Bayonne a dress, a lamp, a crown, to the Mother of God of Aranzosu a crown, to the Lord Christ himself a rich curtain."

Leopold von Ranke, apparently misjudging the far-reaching possibilities of a pious Christian-Catholic mind, tells this and doubts whether there is a greater blasphemy ..." He immediately speaks of the actual assassin, the Burgundian Balthasar Gerard, who, addicted to martyrdom and hired by a Trier)e-suit, shot down Orange in July i 58¢; and while he gave up his spirit, tormented by the curses of the people, Ranke writes, the canons in Herzogenbusch held a solemn tedeum for his deed. -$

Such solemn praise of God for a noble deed, which the children of God never lacked, was of course sung quite often and always from the bottom of their hearts¡ just a few years earlier in

Rome, where it is most sacred, at the center of a chain of conflicts that Catholic France pursued to eradicate Protestantism.

TERROR IN TURKEY

At the same time as the religious war was raging in the Netherlands, Catholics and protesters were fighting each other in France. As a neighboring country directly bordering Germany and Switzerland, it was soon afflicted by Lutheranism, then more strongly by Calvinism, not so much the broader classes as the more educated classes and the nobility.

As early as i 5zo, there were reformatory influences in Paris, Lyon, Avignon and other cities. The first mob control of the followers of the new doctrine, the "hérésie luthérienne", began early on under King Francis I. At the instigation of the Sorbonne and the parliament, Luther's writings i zi were rejected and their dissemination banned on pain of death. And as early as i 5z3, the first Protestant martyrs, the AnFwer- pen Augustinian monks Hendrik Vos and Jan van Esch, were burned to death in front of Brussels City Hall, as was the Augustinian priest Jean Valliere, a friend of Luther's, in Paris. Others followed.

After an anti-Catholic poster campaign, the -affair of the placards" i y3¢, there were further reenactments. In January i 535, m8n, again in the capital, was burned at a "fire" procession of several - luthériens" or -évangéliques - in the presence of the king; others fled in their hundreds, including Calvin. In Meaux, the site of the first Protestant church in France, fourteen people were tortured and burned alive in October iyq6, and eight had their tongues ripped out. And around the same time, thousands of the initially tolerated Waldensians in Aix-en-Provence were crippled, killed or banished to galleys, their children sold as slaves and their settlements destroyed. {Originator of the Lubéron massacre - s 45: Cardinal Francois Tourrion).

King Francis L died at the time. But his son and successor, Henry 11 {i 5q7 -i y y q}, a strict Catholic who had been married to Catherine de Medici since i 553, systematically went after the Huguenots.
tic, even seeking to eradicate the "heresy" completely. He had the ever-growing movement monitored by police and informers and increasingly harassed by radical edicts (of Chateaubriant, of Compiegne). And right at the beginning of his reign, he established the "Chambre ardente" (fire chamber) of the Parisian parliament, a special court for heretics, which handed down hundreds of so-called judgments, including a large number of death sentences. Even members of the court died at the stake."

The letter from Eustachius von Knobelsdorff, a Catholic German student, to his father shows just how barbaric the situation was.
Teacher Georg Cassander in Bruges, written in summer x 54 z, i.e. before the establishment of the "Chambre ardente-. Knobelsdorff, ge-
pray for communication of his -'experience- about the Lutherans condemned to the stake mentions the burning alive of -eight individuals .... alive" because they had slandered the Papal See.

The first victim, according to the reporter, was "a very young man", a cobbler's son, barely twenty years old, whose tongue was cut off because of his refusal to recant. - Without making a face, the young man held his **tongue** out to the executioner's knife, sticking it out as far as he could. The executioner pulled it out even further with a pair of pliers, cut it off and struck the poor sinner a few times on the left and right side of his face. The bystanders, it is said (O piety of the French!)}, bent down after the tongue, which was still itching, and threw it at the young man's head. Then they pushed him onto a card and led him to the place of execution. -*'

However, while the French kings persecuted Protestantism to consolidate their power at home, they favored the Protestants in Germany against the House of Habsburg. In France, under the strong influence of **Calvin** and supported by Genevan pulpit orators, the new believers formed congregations in 1558 and gave themselves up in May i 55d

At its first national synod in Paris, the French Huguenot Church was founded with a Calvinist confession of faith, the Confessio Gallicana, and a corresponding church constitution - by this time there were around two million réformés in France out of a total population of ao million.

Of course, it was less a popular religion, a church of the broad masses, than of urban citizens, business people, teachers, doctors, lawyers, circles of the nobility, including the high aristocracy. The Bourbons, from a collateral line of the royal family, were just as much a part of it as the Coligny brothers from the House of Chatillon or Cardinal Odet, the Archbishop of Toulouse (i 56).

In the fall of i 6i, during a national synod of the French bishops in Poissy near Paris, a religious discussion between Old Believers and Reformed theologians failed in the presence of the Court. Initiated by Catherine de Medici, it was intended to mediate between the two denominations, but failed to produce a resolution. In January i 56s, the Edict of St-Ger- main-en-Laye granted the Huguenots freedom of worship for the first time, albeit only outside the cities. However, it was the first European edict to tolerate a second denomination in a state. Just a few weeks later, on i. Maen, the Mas- sacre de Vassy (Champagne) was issued, which was torn apart by the henchmen of Henog Francis of Guise during a Huguenot church service.

The bloodbath, which cost the lives of 74 people, wounded around xoo and earned the duke the name "Butcher of Vas- sy".

But the -heretics- were also massacred elsewhere in Cahors, Toulouse and Amiens. In Sens, the bells of the cathedral sounded for three days as an invitation to murder the Huguenots. In Tours, they were dragged, two and two tied together, to a slaughterhouse and killed in various ways, butcheries that led to the First Huguenot War (i y6a-i 5ö3). This was, of course, followed by seven more such wars - religion and politics always closely intertwined - wars of rout reinforced by foreign troop contingents, open field battles, sieges, coordinated

The eighth, the last, longest and also most serious conflict (i y85 - i5q8}.'-

The Third Huguenot War saw particularly bloody battles at Moncontour, z y6q.

Pope Pius V., once the brutal general commissioner of the Inquisition, but now a saint, sent money and an auxiliary corps of q 5oo men and gave Catherine de Medici a rather saintly lecture: "In no way and for no reason should one s h o w mercy to God's enemies", rather, the Vicar of Christ urged further fighting "until they are all massacred", and also demanded a "severe judgment" on the prisoners, even "until their complete annihilation ... Thus, in a very short but devastating battle, most of the Protestants w h o fell into the hands of the Catholics were stabbed to death, and entire regiments were -cold-bloodedly - never to be seen again after they had thrown down their weapons and surrendered (Browning). A total of ö5oo to io ooo Huguenots were killed at Montcontour and allegedly -only- 6oo warriors were lost. In Paris, however, the court immediately celebrated the massacre with a large retinue by means of a tedeuin and a few days later with a general procession. In Rome they were no less jubilant and placed half a forest of flags sent to them in the church of St. John Lateran as a symbol of victory.

And soon there was even more reason to rejoice on the Tiber. After all, Christian brotherly love was demonstrated in a particularly impressive way between the Third and Fourth Huguenot Wars.

THE BAnTHOLOMAY NIGHT OR THE SO-CALLED ÜARISER BLOOD HIGH2EIT

After the death of Henry II, *iS $Q),* who had only underage children. The last of the Valois, the Queen Mother Catherine de' Medici, the "expatriate", reigned o v e r the underage kings Francis II and Charles lx.

Skillful and difficult to understand, but initially still based on

With a view to relaxation, she tries to mediate between the rival Guise and Henry of Navarre. The ailing Francis d i e d the very next year, at the end of i y6o. Charles IX, who succeeded him on the throne at the a g e o f nine, sought to reconcile Catholics and Huguenots by marrying his sister Margaret of Valois to the Calvinist Henry of Navarre, Henry IV. At the same time, the head of the Huguenots, Admiral Coligriy, increasingly won the ear of the young monarch, while his ambitious mother, who was caught between the parties and court cliques, feared losing her power and, after a long period of seesaw politics, took the stronger side. Four days after the wedding, when many Huguenot nobles are still in Paris, she tries to eliminate Coligny. But the assassination attempt fails, Coligny is merely wounded, and as the king wants to search for the culprits but the Queen Mother fears that she will be exposed, she decides to murder all the Huguenots gathered in Paris and finally persuades the king himself to do so.

In a conversation between Catherine and the Duke of Anjou, the later Henry III, with Charles IX on the evening of a3. August 57* 'in the Louvre, the duke reports, a -wonderful and strange change- suddenly took place in the king. Catharina had just made it clear to him how easily and safely the rebels could now be fought, as they were "all crammed into the walls of Paris as if in a cage". But if one did not kill the admiral, one would only have to expect new civil wars, as he and his men would seek revenge by all means; so one had to get ahead of them before one was overwhelmed oneself. In short, the king jumped to his feet, ordered them to be silent and shouted - death and the devil - cursing, "if we thought it was right to kill the ad- miral, it was right for him, but then all the other Huguenots throughout France should also believe it, not one should remain who could come to him with accusations afterwards, and we should give the order immediately."

One of the first opters was Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, Lord of Châtillon. There are different versions about his end.

Apparently, however, kneeling in front of his bed, he was beaten to death, stabbed, and then, when the Duke of Guise asked from the courtyard of the house whether the work was done, he was thrown out of the window as ordered. -And the admiral, who was not yet dead, clasped his hands on a piece of wood which he carried down with him. It is said that they wiped the blood from his face with a handkerchief to recognize him, and also that the Duke kicked him in the body before he ran back into the street to spur people everywhere to bring to a good end what had begun so happily.- Later they threw the dead man into the river, pulled him out again, cut o f f one of his ears, gouged out one of his eyes, cut off his nose and his genitals, dragged him through the town by his feet and hanged him by his feet on the gallows."

In the meantime, the bells in Paris had been ringing off the hook between three and four o'clock in the morning - it was a long time since they had "brought to a good end what had begun so happily". was August z4 , a Sunday, St. Bartholomew's Day, the weather was fine and warm, and the murderous cries of the Catholic mob (distinctive feature: a white cross on their hats) filled the city.
It was rumored that the Huguenots had decided to kill the king and the entire court, and that the only thing to do now was to forestall their attack.

Thus, under the direction of the Guise, the Huguenots were torn down throughout Paris, regardless of age or sex, mifihanized, mutilated, raped; everywhere incessant shooting, everywhere, according to an eyewitness, "the lamentations and screams of terror of those tortured to death, the roars of the murderers, the bodies5 t h r o w n out of the window, dragged through the feces with scornful laughter and strange whistling". There was killing and looting in every street. Soon there was not an alley, not even the smallest one, in which blood was not running, as if it had been raining heavily. There was a roar all around: - Murder, murder, down with the Huguenots! -Beat them to death, beat them to death! -Kill, kill everything; the king commands it! -some priests insisted on -killing everything down to the babies."--.

In fact, children were also massacred, stabbed to death, thrown into water, nine- or ten-year-old boys dragged a child with a belt around his neck through the streets. Other children were wheeled; old people were sometimes broken by banging their heads against walls. Dead men, women and children were driven endlessly on carts to the Seine and thrown into the river.

The Piedmontese captain Annibale of Coconnas boasted that he had ransomed up to thirty Huguenots from the people only to transport them to the afterlife at his own whim. Indeed, another Catholic, commonly called the -gold- wire-puller, boasted that he had killed eighty Huguenots in one day with his own hand; - usually, he did so with his hands and arms covered in blood and claimed that it was an honor for him, because this blood was the blood of heretics.

Even the leaders of the state, promenading post festum full of genuflection, drew their pleasure from the corpse viewing. The king, for example, rebuked some of his followers who held their noses while looking at the hanged admiral, because the smell of an enemy is a fine smell. Or the Queen Muttep, who urged to see the corpse of Mr. Soubise, -because she wanted to know why he had been unable to attend his wife." -°

bfun, we are more interested in the **number** of victims, it will never be possible to determine even approximately the number of victims - in the night of St. Bartholomew in Paris and the following days about sooo to 3ooo or 3ooo to 5ooo; in the provinces, in Orléans, Bourges, Lyon, Rouen, Toulouse and others, during the next four weeks perhaps Ii ooo to xoooo Hugeriots. Large crowds flee; they go to Alsafi, Germany, England, they seek refuge in Holland, **D e n m a r k**, Sweden. -St. Bartholomew's Night cost more than 3oooo victims" {Handbook of European History). And even a hundred years **later**, after i 683, zoo ooo Huguenots left France.

Of course, the bloody deed in which Christians massacred Christians by the thousands was about the eight Huguenot Wars

not at all about faith alone. Although they began as religious wars - just as the French Reformation was originally of a purely religious nature, so to speak - they were soon also fought for political, military and highly personal opportunistic reasons; the two are still inextricably linked. The power of the French crown, the future of the whole of Western Europe was at stake. Major foreign states were involved, above all Spain and England, but also German Protestant countries. The French Catholics were supported by Italy, the popes and especially Spain with money and mercenaries, while the French Huguenots were supported by England and preferably by some German princes. But Germans also fought on the side of the Catholics.'*

GREGORI ANIcE FRIENDSHIPS **AND PURE HORROR**

The papacy had a particular interest in these battles, as is clear from the very beginning. But it was precisely from the preparation of the largest, most notorious slaughter, the Parisian blood

The new pope, Gregory **XIII (*** f 7>-- s 5), is said to have had no prior agreement whatsoever between him and the - rän- keful Mcdiceerin", the Curia is rather said to have been influenced by

were completely surprised by the gruesome incident. Countless apologists never tire of it {we know the method from the Hitler era: - "The Führer doesn't know!") to whitewash the Holy Father.

Ludwig von Pastor uses all his powers of concealment over almost thirty pages {often in small print) - in vain, the reality always shines through. For even Pastor cannot overlook the fact that the papal nuncio Cardinal Anto-nio Maria Salviati had been "informed of her project by Catherine", albeit, how strange, on the condition that he -keep the information secret from everyone, even from the Pope.

does the Queen Mother, versed, according to the Venetian Gesandte Giovanni Michieli, like Leo X and all the Medici, in the - art of dissimulation-, tell the Papal Nuncio of the planned conspiracy when he is supposed to conceal it from everyone, even from the Pope of all people?

Gregory XfII, who repeatedly demanded and promoted the continuation of the civil war, was eager for the downfall of the "heretics". So he confessed at the time to Charles de Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine: - For the exaltation of the Catholic faith, We desired nothing more than the destruction of the Huguenots."-- Just as von Pastor denies t h a t the Pope knew anything about the premeditated murder of the Protestants, he also denies t h a t it primarily served Catholic interests, indeed that it served any Catholic interests at all.

• originated from religious motives. No, he emphasizes, - not religious at all". But Catherine and Charles IX informed the Pope on zy. August, Catherine and Charles IX informed the Pope that everything had been done in the interests of religion, and that much more would follow in this respect, for in the course of time the Queen intended not only to revoke the Edict of Saint Germain, but also to restore the Catholic faith in its old observance by legal means. November, Catherine again assured the Pope by letter that -everything that had happened so far had been done only in the interest of religion.") Thus the Cardinal of Lorraine found - hardly words enough - to praise the Catholic attitude of Catherine and the king.

Gregory XIII, however, received the news of the mass murder in Paris with the confession, as the Cardinal of Como reported on September 8, "that in these times of so much upheaval one could not have wished for better and greater news ... That very morning ... His Holiness and the entire College of Cardinals went to the church of St. Marcus to celebrate the tedieu. Marcus to have the tedeu m sung and to thank God for such a happy grace bestowed on the Christian people. Also this morning, His Holiness went in procession to the church of St. Louis. Louis. -

Not enough, the Holy Father is organizing an event to celebrate the

massacre in Paris, he proclaims a general jubilee in a bull as thanks to God for the defeat of the Huguenots, he also has the event "immortalized" by a fresco by Vassari in the Sala Regia, and even embosses an angel slaughtering Huguenots on a commemorative medal and his own image on the reverse. And just as his predecessor, St. Pius V, demanded the fight against the Huguenots "until they are all massacred", Pope Gregory also demanded the "complete eradication" of Protestantism in France. He asked God and the king to continue on the path he had taken

-to change further" and to "cleanse the country of the Huguenot plague.

The historian of the popes, however, teaches us that the Gregorian songs of joy were not directed at the atrocities committed as such, but at the liberation of the Hanseatic Catholics from the blue of their mortal enemies. Although von Pastor cannot deny the Pope's joy, which he testified to, he emphasizes that it was in no way

On the contrary, Gregory had been " unpeaceful" at the news of St. Bartholomew's Night, he had "shed tears" and, when asked by a Kafdinal why the fiasco of the enemies of God and the Holy See had so saddened him, he replied: -I weep over the unauthorized and God-forbidden procedures of the king." Oh, the good pope!

Yet no one fomented the Huguenot wars as much as the papacy, no one condemned any comparison as much, no one deplored any truce as much, from Pius V to Clregor **XIII** to Sixtus V (i585-i Ego). For like his predecessors, the fifth Sixtus, too, was always eager for war, wanted it to be waged quickly and energetically, "honestly and seriously, and then, but only then, to give the king money and troops. - zy ooo foot soldiers and 8ooo horsemen in Our pay, yes, his -own blood".

But Henry III, the last Valois, peaceful by nature, wanted to pacify the country, but was too lax for the Pope. And the Pope was agitated and distressed by this, he fell "into melancholy", was unable to

-neither to sleep nor to eat-. He wants to give the king money and cannon fodder, but only if -the heretics and rebels-

They are driven to couples. -If We help him, it is so that he may exterminate the heretics, not so that he may make peace with them.

King Henry II1. was no innocent larnm. Just at Christmas x y88 he had both Henry of Guise and his brother Cardinal Louis murdered, Henry on a3. and the Cardinal on zq. December - before he, King Henry III himself, was murdered a few months later, on i. August i J8q, by the Dominican Jacques Clément, and - already after the wars - also King Henry lV.

Gewifi, the crimes, atrocities and acts of revenge happened on both sides. And a man like Pastor never tires of naming and shaming the atrocities committed by the Huguenots, occasionally summarizing them almost with relish. -Everyone in Rome knew the atrocities they had been committing for years in France and the Netherlands, systematically robbing wealthy Catholics as soon as they gained control, either plundering or tearing down the most magnificent cathedrals, desecrating graves, trampling on consecrated hosts or throwing them to the horses as food, desecrating defenceless nuns and murdering numerous priests and religious. Catholics were subjected to all the tortures that a crazy lust for murder could devise, simply because they wanted to remain true to the faith: burial alive, scalding with boiling oil, having their tongues ripped out, disemboweling while still alive and even more abominable acts. There were credible reports in Rome of the hunts for Catholic priests in Béarri, for example, as well as of the abyss near Saint-Sever into which the Calvinist zoo had thrown Catholic priests."

And how were people governed on the other side of the Xanal?

TERROR IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND D AND IR LAND

In England, the Tudor dynasty prevailed after the - so romantically named - Wars of Rome, the bloody struggle between the houses of Lancaster and **York** for the royal crown.
the Plantagenet dynasty, which had ruled since i 54. His in the
The last representative of the male line, Richard III, the younger brother of Eduardo IV, was protector of the two royal sons after his death in ï48 j, but took the crown himself.

He had his opponents imprisoned or executed, even his underage nephews declared illegitimate and i48g turned into "princelings in the tower" from which they never emerged - one speaks of
of suffocation and walling up, among other things. Two years later, however, he lost
ez, "good king Richard -, himself crown and life against the son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, Heinrith VII, in the decisive battle of Bosworth (Leicestershire), whereupon Hans Tudof (bls 1603) seized the regiment.-'

It cannot be said that the -libertarian- state of the Tudors was humorous. Here as there, rival claims of so-called authorities, of those who, according to Paul, are all from the dear Heavenly Father: never-ending power struggles, cabals, battles, lies, conspiracies, uprisings, purges, one intrigues and imprisons, one robs, one hangs, beheads, tortures, one goes "missing in a battle - or in prison. -Research calls it "efforts to gain recognition", "consolidation", "stabilization", "securing power", in short: one puts
-restore order".

Henry's son and heir to the throne, Henry VIII { 5 9-* 547)', not quite eighteen years old when he took office, was educated, musically inclined, poetic, he composed songs, even two masses, he wrote and spoke fluent Latin, French, understood some Italian and Spanish, but was also obsessed with fame, tending towards grayness, of a despotic nature. Above all, however: -"a deeply pious man" (Erbe); "very religious", as the Vencian ambassador reported to his doge in a secret memorandum.

det. He -hears three masses a day when he goes hunting, and sometimes five on the other days-.

The king and his wives made their mark on the world, as did the separation of the English Church from Rome.

HEINRICH Uxn sxix EHEGLücx

Henry VIII, married to six wives, divorced two of them, had two beheaded, and a third, Jane Seymour, died in 37 - shortly after the birth by Caesarean section of the future Edward VI, with ¿8

At least the garden could take comfort in the fact that at least the prince was in good health. And since the first wife was also suspected of having been poisoned, a rumor merely due to too hasty embalming, it is hardly surprising that another favorite, the sixteen-year-old Duchess of Milan, first demanded "unequivocal guarantees of safety" b e f o r e joining the ranks of the chosen heads. If she had two necks, she said, the King of England would have one.

Henry had married Catherine of Aragon, the fiinf daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, six years his senior and an aunt of Charles V. As Catherine was the widow of Henry's early deceased brother Arthur, Pope Julius 11 had already granted exemption from the impediment of first-degree affinity in i yo3.

{After many years of an initially harmonious marriage and the birth of five children, only one of whom, the later Mary I the Catholic (Bloody Mary), remained alive, the disappointed Varer hoped that after Mary's birth on i8. February z'i i6, -by the grace of God, boys will follow". Of course, this was followed only by miscarriages, disgruntlement, Heinrich was ultimately completely uninterested in Katharina, also asserted that he had not had marital relations with her since 15ag, rather that he had religious scruples, feelings of blood shame, a n d , apparently inspired by Cardinal Thomas

Wolsey, the unfortunate woman - in vain, however - that she had "lived in mortal sin for the entire duration of their marriage" and sought to obtain a dispensation from Rome."

The pious king, who later, one day after Catherine's death, enjoyed himself at a ball, did not personally take women's contacts, often determined by the primacy of politics anyway, so tragically. He also had marital affairs, including Mary Boleyn as his mistress, the elder sister of Anne Boleyn, the lady-in-waiting with whom he had fallen so deeply in love since the spring of i z6. He set heaven and hell in motion to have the marriage with the even more affectionately loud Catherine annulled. The Bible was consulted, every conceivable motive, every art of rhetoric was tried, the "sanctity of the marriage bond" was hypocritically and shamelessly emphasized in order to achieve the divorce, the possibility or impossibility of bigamy was ventilated, but above all the invalidity of Julius Il's dispensation of i 5o3 w a s asserted.

Dylan worked with pressure, cunning, hypocrisy, with almost endless conferences, with envoys, interventions by princes, attempts at blackmail, bribery. Approval was requested and forced from bishops, legal scholars, from the leading universities of Europe, from Cologne, Bologna, Ferrari, Padua. There w a s even a sham bull issued by the long-suffering Clement VII (i j T3-153q), a decision-shy, vacillating, diplo- matically devious man, who confirmed neither the validity of Henry's marriage nor its invalidity until he excommunicated the **king** and declared his divorce and remarriage invalid.

After barely three years, however, Henry accused his great love of witchcraft, by which she had ruined him, accused her of taking part in a murderous plot and of five counts of adultery, including incest with her brother Lord Rochford, and denounced all the alleged witches.

liquidate her rival on *7 May i 536. Two days later, Anne Boleyn herself died at the hands of the particularly adept head splitter of Calais - a special favor from her husband - who

became engaged to Anne's lady-in-waiting Jane Seymour the following day and married her "quietly" ten days later.

After Jane's death in childbirth, Anne of Cleves, the Duke's daughter, followed, then aged three. But for four nights, Henry was unable to "recognize her fieischlich", found -no pleasure whatsoever in her, in the -slackness of her flesh", her -hanging breasts", and cast her out after a few months, after all, so to speak alive, so that in summer - i4o due to the probably more easily flammable nineteen-year-old lady-in-waiting Katharina Howard, who he had - s4- beheaded her, since she had, according to the official accusation -a vile, low, carnal, lustful and hypocritical life- before her marriage, the almost usual -treason- aside.
like a common whore, with different people", but, according to the vow she made publicly at her wedding, was only ever to be "fresh and lively in bed and at table" with Heinrich. And also for the monarch's sixth and last wife, the politically disinterested widow Katharina, who was married in July i 54s
Parr, he had already signed the probably fatal indictment in '54,
died the following year, at the age of fifty-five, from gout and monstrous obesity, the result of decades of colossal binge eating and drinking.

In between, uprisings, conflicts, robberies at home, coin devaluations, tax increases, wars with Scotland, with France, huge sums of money, devouring almost two million pounds, the triumphs and downfalls of many near and dear to the throne, the triumph and misery of Thomas Wolsey, for example, who became great through the church.

The Lord Chancellor and Cardinal, the son of a butcher, who was as greedy for power as he was for money, became a royal chaplain under Henry **VII,** then Bishop of Tournai, Bishop of LiflCOlfl, 5 4 Archbishop of York and i J g -Legatus a latere- {Papal Plenipotentiary Extraordinary), who was also at times
was considered papabile and aspired to the tiara, exploited the English church for his own enrichment, promoted the state church, the royal central power. However, it was precisely because of Henry's divorce ("the king's great matter") that he lost almost all his offices, including his considerable fortune, and probably only lost his head because the "Great Cardinal -, 153O

already on t h e way to the dungeon or the scaffold, death came.

Instead, Thomas Cranmer, first the Boleyn's house chaplain, then Secretary to the King and servile to the bone, i 53s was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (with a papal bull of appointment dated February zi!). As such, he, who had just established relations with Lutheranism on a trip to Germany and had also secretly married, eagerly supported all of Henry's divorces and remarriages, but ended up i y y 6 under Mary 1 of the Catholics, like several hundred Protestants, as a "heretic" in the funeral pyre.

HEINRICH VIII. BECOMES ^HIGHEST EARTHLY Hzur'r OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND"

Initially, the papacy was definitely committed to the king.

As early as i y z i, when Luther's writings were being burned in London, Henry, who was educated in theology and humanism, had written the "Assertio septem sacramentorum", a defense of the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments against Luther, for which Leo X awarded him the honorary title of

-Defensor fidei, defender of the faith, awarded Clement VII the Golden Rose. And when Luther replied particularly ineptly, Henry had new refutations of Wittenbergei written by Bishop John Fisher of Rochester, beheaded in the summer of i y3 y, as well as by Thomas More, who was also beheaded at the time, who in turn covered the reformer with tirades of abuse and also hurled the "Dialogue Concerning Heresies" against the Lutherans.

te. And as late as 15-7 at the Sacco di Roma lS. VIII 43 ff.), Henry had campaigned for the liberation of the imprisoned Clement VII, who finally - after some concessions - allowed the king's marriage.

with Anna Boleyn was declared null and void and he was excommunicated.

But now the defender of the papal coup became its opponent. The angry king went all out just to enforce his will and satisfy his passion. For in fact

As Cardinal Legate Lorenzo Campegio reported to the Secretary of State Jacopo Salviati on February 8, i yag, in a mostly ciphered cry, this love affair of the king is a matter of his own: he sees nothing and thinks of nothing but his Anna¡ he cannot be without her for an hour, and it is a pity how the life of the king, the existence and downfall of the whole country depends on this one question.

England had been associated with the papacy for almost a millennium.

but the relationship had already been dissolved since the fourth century. And now, in the early thirties, it all came to a head.

Henry was soon able to boast that he was now king and pope. i y3 i he had himself proclaimed head of the Church of **England. -** 53> the submission of the ever-compliant clergy {"Act for the submission of the clergy to the king's maje- sty") and the prohibition of ecclesiastical payments to Rome ("Act of Anna- tes") took place. i }3) the English Church was finally legally separated from Rome and integrated into the state, thus completing the Reformation in terms of state law. The same year saw the marriage of Anne Boleyn and the annulment of the King's first marriage by Thomas Cranmer, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the annulment of the EC communi- cation of the marriage.

Henry by Pope Clement VII, On November i 534, the Act of Supremacy, the Act of Supremacy, would have Henry VIII.

"supreme earthly head {supreme head in earth) of the Church of England". The Act reaffirmed the title and wording of z §3 i, but no longer contained its significant qualification "in so far as

es das Gesetz Christi erlaubt" (as far as the law of Christ allows). The **king** was now actually a kind of papa in regno su ,4-

Between i 535 and 154, all monasteries and choir houses, almost q yo, were dissolved and their properties - estimated at a tenth of the cultivable land - confiscated in favor of the crown.

Taxes fleeced. Throughout the north, however, a monastic revolt, the Pilgrimage of Grace, which was supported by broad sections of the population and sought to restore the old church relations, came to a very ungracious end

- with rows and rows of rolling heads, hundreds of executions after the months-long suppression of the uprising. The king did not participate directly¡ - from a safe distance, however, he even determined the number of executions in individual cases- Baumann) - not to mention the 7* OOO thieves and %ubers allegedly executed under him.-'

For Henry VIII, however, separation from the papacy did not mean turning to Luther. He had attacked Luther himself and had him attacked by others. His fight was against the Curia, against the Pope or, as it was now called, the presumed authority of the "Bishop of Rome". Henry also had all monasteries abolished by the end of the century, and he held on to many teachings and customs of the old church, even threatening their abandonment with severe penalties, not least the punishment of the stake.

Although the Reformation in England, which was strongly led by the authorities, was more political than religious in nature, Heinrich also later took a close interest in the creedal guidelines and worked on their creation himself, for example in the drafting of the - Six Articles - i 5 q, which quite obviously preserved elements of Catholic dogma. Thus, in the so-called sacrament of the altar, the real body and blood of Christ were present under the form of bread and wine. Deniers of this article were to be burned outright. In addition to transubstantiation, the religious vows were also to be observed, and private masses, auricular confession and celibacy were to be maintained.

The king ordered that all English Bible transmissions be banned. I n 54-. years before his death, the king had all English Bible transmissions from the Great Bible of 1 J 3g banned and all protestant steps.

Even the powerful Thomas Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith who was close to Lutheranism and inspired the separation from the papal church, who had advanced from Cardinal Wolscy's staff and Parliament i y3J to become the royal "vicar-general for ecclesiastical affairs", was finally thrown into the Tower and killed in July i yqo - without trial - for alleged high treason and as a heretic. - Main accusation" against him:

"that he was a despicable heretic who disseminated heretical literature, granted heretics the license to preach and generally held his protective hand over the heretics."-'

Although Henry VIII officially broke with the papal church, he adhered to many of its teachings and rites, as already mentioned. However, under his underage son Edward VI { 547**s s 3), who was brought up as a Protestant and only became his successor in his last will and testament of December 3 - i 4 , the English Reformation, which had been advanced by Archbishop Cranmer of Canterbury and influenced by various currents such as Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, made great strides.

Private masses, transubstantiation and celibacy were abolished and the altars were replaced by communion tables. A new liturgy in English was also introduced, as well as a Protestant creed devised by Cranmei, consisting of 4 articles of compromise formulas, which Edward VI signed on June iz. June x y53 signed. Protestant clergymen came from the mainland, and John Knox was also frequently active in Windsor and Westminster. People traded in the churches themselves, drove horses and mules into them, "even bloody brawls and beatings to death took place there not infrequently--(by Pastor}. Be that as it may, the English church received a more distinctly pro- testant doctrine under the in- minted prince, and was not only given a different theological status, but also a different liturgical and organizational one.

Shortly before Edward died of tuberculosis at the age of five in the summer of i J 53, he appointed the eldest daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, a great niece of Henry VIII and great-granddaughter of Henry VII, Lady "Jane Grey and her heirs male", as his successor. He declared his half-sisters, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, and Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, illegitimate. But Jane Grey, Protestant, highly educated, with no ambitions for power, went down in history only as -The Nine Days Queen - and soon ended up, along with the actual masterminds, above all her protector and father-in-law John Dudley, the Duke

of Northumberland, and her husband Guildford Dudley, together with par-
teigängern in the tower and on the scaffold.

The execution of the completely blameless sixteen-year-old queen on February x z, x5 y, who refused to convert to Catholicism and died in *a* barely comprehensible manner, is one of the most shy judicial murders in English history, in particular that of her cousin and successor.

MARIA THE CATHOLIC, THE BLUE (i553 *5i)

Mary I the Catholic, also known as Mary the Bloody, Bloody Mary and Mary Tudor or the Spanish Mary, was the only surviving child of Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. After the birth of her half-sister Elizabeth {I} by Anne Boleyn I §5q, Mary was disinherited from the succession to the throne and subjected to severe humiliations, even disadvantages, and was only saved by the harsh intervention of her cousin, Emperor Charles V, who would rather see her die "a thousand deaths" than "betray her faith and mine". However, after the death of her Protestant brother Edward Vt, Mary won the crown, albeit not entirely without God's help and the deployment of an army of so ooo men; whereupon the high nobility, the members of the Crown Council, most of those who had just sworn allegiance to Jane Grey, quickly went over to the new Queen Mary. Even the leader of the defeated, the Duke of Northumberland, is said to have paid public homage to her in tears.

Maria, again highly educated and very hard-working, had been brought up as a strict Catholic and therefore did not share Edward's religious views in the slightest.

But while she once denied not only her mother's marriage to her father, but also her faith and her conscience, and recognized Henry as the head of the English church, she was also able to make her own decisions.

she now confessed her convictions to Edward and had mass celebrated in her chapel during his reign, which is said to have been celebrated six to seven times a day at her court. In any case, as soon as she took office in 553, Julius III, in distant Rome, watered with tears of joy, began the re-Catholicization of England, her most important political goal. The country "led into sin" by her father was to be restored to a compromifilos Catholic state and the Pope was to become the head of the English Church again, with her main concern being the reform of the clergy.

Catholic-minded high clergymen returned to their seats from exile or prison, new prelates were consecrated; Stephen Gardiner, the shepherd of Winchester, who had spent five years in the Tower under Edward, was promoted to Lord Chancellor. Protestant bishops were put under lock and key, Hugo Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, was sent to the Tower, as was Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canierbury, and it was not only this Protestant with a deep attachment to Mary who ended up at the stake. Celibacy came into force again and affected a quarter or a fifth of priests, especially their "wives". The universities of Oxford and Cambridge restored the Catholic statutes. As late as zi. December i 5y3, the Mass was reintroduced by parliamentary decree. Three months later, the landed gentry had to restore the affair of the village churches in the shortest possible time. In short, almost all of the decades of anti-Roman legislation were repealed and the Pope was once again head of the English Church. Julius III was delighted to announce by letter of i o. July i y yq to the zealous princess.

While foreign Protestants now left the island, including John Knox, who fled to the mainland to escape the "accursed Jezabel", the godless Mary, domestic agitators were driven to conspiracies and uprisings. But, says the historian of the popes, Ludwig von Pastor: -Maria's first acts of government **bore** the stamp of that clemency which manifested itself wherever she followed her own judgment and her own heart.

Of the seven rebels brought to court, the still bloodless one had "only three - liquidated. But soon there were more. Especially as

Under the influence of the papal legate Cardinal Reginald Pole, who landed in Dover towards the end of i ss4 *n a n d became Archbishop of Canterbury in Mü *z* i 556 to finally restore Rome's rule over the English Church, Ma- ria's religious policy took on inquisitorial traits. The executioners were given work again so that, wrote the queen, who is even said to have thought of marrying Cardinai, "the glory of God could be increased and the kingdom ruled with greater tranquillity". So, according to Pole, a large quantity of briars and undergrowth was thrown into the fire, and he himself was accused of heresy and deprived of his legation.

After the dangerous conspiracy of Thomas Wyatt in Kent, the ringleaders ended up on the scaffold of blood, including, of course, Wyatt, celebrated as a martyr by his own because of his "zeal for God's truth", as well as Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk, and his brother Thomas Grey. In addition, the mild Mary hanged fifty flag-waving soldiers. And since the old "heretical laws" were also renewed and new laws - necessary ones - were passed, only the "fanaticism of the Protestants" was able to prevent this.

{by Pastor), the funeral pyres were soon blazing again everywhere. And while political prisoners were released from the Tower in January i 5 yy, the Protestant preachers were kept there and some were sentenced to death by fire.

Although many dioceses allegedly did not burn a single heretic, other bishops took brutal action against them, such as John White of Lincoln, John Christopherson of Chichester, John Hopton of Norwich and Robert King of Oxford. Bishop Bonner of London interrogated and condemned such defendants. Also under Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, 8 Protestants were executed in November of the year i J $8, although, according to the Catholics Wetzerf Welte, he mainly took the path of leniency and resisted the "measures of severity". Five Protestant bishops also died at the hands of the executioner. Even according to Pastor's apologist, who was so fond of appeasement and euphemism, "there are still about zoo left who d i e d a horrible death because of their Protestant views." **Frci-**

I must say -to the honor of the government- that it did not stain itself with the cruelties that were so deliberately used against the Catholics under Elizabeth.

Quite a few Catholic historians and theologians before and after von Pastor h e l d a similar view. However, the communis opinio takes a different view of Henry VIII's second daughter Elisa- beth I.

ELISABETH I. (xJ 8-i6o3), **THE "BORN MAN***

Even in her time, when she herself employed a number of national historians (whose works Shakespeare used for his historical dramas), poets and artists glorified her as a fairy queen, moon goddess, "immortal shepherdess - . Parallels were drawn with the Holy Mother of God and there was talk of a "Protestantized cult of Mary . Even Pope Sixtus V wrote admiringly: -What a brave woman. She defied the two greatest kings {= of France and Spain) on land and sea ... It is a pity that Elisabeth and I cannot marry, our children would rule the whole world.

But the praise she received also had to cover up a number of flaws, a double legitimacy deficit, that of her sex and that of her birth, the problematic legal title of queen. After all, Parliament had repeatedly bastardized her by law and excluded her from the throne; she pursued the problem of succession throughout her reign.

Even today, Elizabeth I still shines as an "iconic figure" in English history. In a poll conducted by BBC Radio 4, she was still voted "nAndthreeBigPercent
from around io ooo Hörem to the "most important British monarchy of all time" - whereupon she was followed, probably somewhat inappropriately, by the current Queen with twenty-seven percent.

It is true that many historians saw and still see Elizabeth I as the -born ruler-. But what does that mean? -born lord-

The "winners" are victors, the victors are destroyers and have to be in order to keep on winning.

In a world in which heads were rolling - and never have they rolled more in English history - Elizabeth survived only as an accomplished tactician, a master of internal emigration, practising not only caution but also dissimulation, hypocrisy and cunning, as is part and parcel of successful, i.e. "good" politics. The Spanish envoy Feria reported **home** as succinctly as vividly: - Everything about her is false-heartedness and vanity -and suspected that she had -a hundred thousand devils in her body-, although she kept telling him that -she would infinitely like to be a nun, to spend her time praying in a cell ... - It is more appropriate to say: -She had a perfect command of the politician's art of using words and concealing their meaning. She covered arc after arc of public questions and personal relationships with her croaky scrawl, her sentences writhing like a tangled heap of snakes over her secret conclusions, hinting, insinuating, promising, denying and finally slipping away from the subject without having said more than she had intended- (Mattingly).

Elisabeth was hardly transparent. She hid her intentions in front of everyone, drove the acting and self-dramatization to deceive others of their parrneq of their opponents of the entire people, to perfection, far surpassing mere compromise politics.

Thoroughly educated in the spirit of Protestant humanism and also determined to restore the Anglican Church one day as queen, to revise the Marian religious laws in favor of the innovators and to enforce a moderate Protestantism combined with a rigid anti-papal course, she nevertheless presented herself as a Catholic during the reign of her Catholic sister. She attended mass and vespers, even won a papal indulgence announced in September i 555, and on her deathbed Mary confirmed the twenty-five-year-old half-sister as her heiress to the throne, provided that she remained Catholic.

At her coronation procession, however, she already posed with the English Bible, which she then had officially reintroduced, but celebrated the actual coronation ceremony at a high mass according to Roman Catholic custom, just as the traditional church rite continued unchanged, even the heretic trials were stopped at the beginning of her reign in December z y y8 and the convictions of the previous years were reviewed.

Gifted with penetrating political perspicacity, Elisabeth initially wanted to sound out domestic and foreign policy, above all not to provoke the Catholic states, but to make them believe that she could at least essentially continue as before by merging Protestant doctrine with Catholic rites. Let
she did not - s6o spread the word through her envoys in Spain that she was "still Catholic at heart", and affirmed at the time
also to the Spanish ambassador in London, Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, -to be as Catholic as the envoy himself-, indeed, called God to witness -that she believed the same as all Catholics in her realm.

For although Elizabeth unquestionably favored the Protestant national English Church, she was far too clever to put an end to British Catholicism with a ScMag. Rather, it relied on its gradual isolation, a continuous war of attrition, for example through severe punitive taxes or personnel discipline. Between z y5q and i 56i, for example, she replaced all the bishops loyal to her predecessor with Protestants. Without there being any systematic persecution of Catholics in the first decade of her reign, one prelate after another disappeared into the Tower or other prisons, with Protestant preachers already urging that "the imprisoned wolves must be killed". And gradually the papists were also subjected to more intensive surveillance and harsher sanctions; "heresy" (hcresy) could almost be interpreted as **treason** (rreason).

However, this development only provoked resistance from the Ale- believers, which in turn hardened the government's reaction.
-The persecutions and punishments became more cruel- {Klein), also

Tomiren before the killing, which Elizabeth is said to have under-said, while the Catholics WetzerfWelte it in their
-Church Dictionary" as a rule that whoever was imprisoned was also subjected to torture." The last Catholic bishop of England, Thomas Watson of Lincoln, died i y8q after a6 years in prison.

Incidentally, the regent herself seemed to be quite skeptically distanced in matters of faith and little affected by religiosity - her personal position is difficult to determine; it is significant that among all her advisors there was only one churchman, who was also unprofiled as a clergyman.

The first stricter anti-papist decrees were passed in 1956, four years after Elizabeth's accession to the throne. Refusal to take the oath of supremacy was punishable by loss of office, and this affected almost all bishops from the time of Mary the Catholic, while the vast majority of the clergy took the oath - the people were not even asked. Any intervention in favor of foreign rulers or prelates (which was mainly aimed at the Pope) was punished as high treason, in the third case of violation with the death penalty, and since i 58 i every Catholic clergyman in England was considered a high traitor. Of the approximately 6oo known there under Elizabeth
Priests were i3 o executed, beheaded, disemboweled allegedly, quartered, as were more than 6o laymen and women for
of their Rome contacts.-°

Elizabeth I quashed any emerging competition from the outset, since she herself had once been bastardized several times and her heir to the throne was far from clear. For example, when Lady Catherine Greg, a sister of Henry VIII's heir apparent, was expecting a child by Hartford, Earl of Seymour, Elisaheth had the secret marriage annulled and both were thrown into the Tower. Even when Elizabeth's opponents pursued Mary Stuart's marriage to the Duke of Norfolk, a plan that was already well advanced but initially concealed from the queen, she repeatedly had the duke, who was admittedly also involved in the Ridolfi conspiracy, imprisoned in the Tower and finally executed on June a yyz.

The fact that Elisabeth, despite her many, mostly factually conditioned, i.e. politically used or misused, marriage dates (occasionally twelve suitors are mentioned by name) and yet probably also many a lover, liked to play the role of the "Virgin Queen", which certainly suited her acting performances, is just as evident as the fact that daRi also sometimes, more or less mysteriously, floated blood. For example, in her infamous affair with Lord Roberi Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, which was ridiculed throughout Europe. One day, his wife lay broken-necked at the foot of the staircase of Cumnor Place Castle, her residence, certainly more in his interest than that of the Queen. And before he could poison his second wife, she had killed him, while his stepson, the Earl of Essex, another of the Queen's gallants, was liquidated by her on February 1601. February 1601 because he seemed to covet the Irish crown. Above all, however, Elizabeth 1 was able to praise "the grace" that "the Lord had bestowed on her, namely that it was her joy to live and die a virgin" - and even in distant North America, the oldest English colony was named in honor of the virgin queen - Virginia {p. 4J)-"

SCOTLAND UxD MARIA TUART

Less importance was attached to the appearance of youthfulness by the "Queen of Scania", Mary Stuart, who was as ambitious as she was easy-going and passionate, and who also increasingly contrasted with Elizabeth i n other respects.

Immediately after her father's death, Henry VIII wanted to win the hand of the then six-day-old heiress to the throne for his son through several campaigns in order to unite the two kingdoms. Alone 543. ' year of his last marriage, iqz Scottish towns, churches, castles and zq 3 villages are said to have been destroyed and burned to the ground, similarly the areas there were also destroyed in the following years.
years, while at the same time the Reformation

b e g a n t o penetrate Scotland more and more, first in the form of Lutheranism and then, mainly through John Knox, Calvinism. All Catholics were devils and idolaters for the tongue-tongued natural rhetorician, i.e. people, Knox took this from the Bible, who were to be killed by force if necessary. While the reformer was still in exile, Catholics were already being persecuted. But now, under his and other incendiary speeches, there were formal iconoclasms, bibliographies and manuscripts were destroyed, statues of saints were smashed, churches and abbeys were reduced to rubble and ashes, and priests and monks were expelled.

Nevertheless, Rome remained strangely inactive at times. Even such a great heretic hunter as Paul IV (i y5§-I §5Q) did not intervene. *He could* boast *that* his arm *was* "dipped to the elbow", but of all the clerical institutions he favored the Inquisition, his "favorite authority", whose weekly meetings he hated to miss and whose driving force he became. He wanted to see it handled as harshly as possible, including, of course, the use of torture. Excommunications and autodafés replaced each other. He even threw cardinals into prison when in doubt about their orthodoxy. His Hafi went against everything
-heretical- yes, right up to the oath: -Even if my own father were a heretic, I would gather the wood to have him b u r n e d .

But no, even this stubborn monster made no attempt to intervene in Scotland. After the fall of the Stuarts, Pius V did not allow his nuncio in Madrid to take any steps in their favor, but rather declared that he did not know - which of the i'tide queens was the better, Mary or Elizabeth", and hoped for Elizabeth's "prayers" right then.

On i. August i 5So the Scottish Parliament, the so-called Reformation Parliament, introduced Calvinism by law, but without royal approval, and banned Catholic worship in the same month. Anyone who resisted, who read or attended mass, was severely punished: the first time with flogging and loss of property, the second time with imprisonment.

banishment, the third time with death. Only in the chapel of the Queen was allowed to attend mass in the future.

At that time, Francis It. had wanted to land in Scotland from France with a strong army, but died on December 5, i 56o, whereupon his widow decided to return peacefully to a wild, troubled country, a country in which, according to a contemporary source, io 5 Scottish kings5 ö had been slain.

Mary Stuarr was the great-granddaughter of Henry VII and the daughter

King James V of Scotland, in whose year of death is4• she was born. At the instigation of her mother Marie de Guise, the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, who ruled the northern island kingdom for her, she was brought up as a Catholic from the age of six at the court in Paris, notorious for its Genufi addiction. At the age of seventeen, she married the Dauphin, soon to become King Francis 11, and after his early death in 56i returned to Scotland at the age of nineteen, where her mother had meanwhile been deposed as regent, had also died and Protestantism had been introduced as the state religion.

was.

t y6 y Mary Stuart married a second time. Contrary to the urgent wishes of Elizabeth, who had proposed her own lover Lord Dudley as her husband, Mary married her cousin, the nineteen-year-old Scottish Lord Henry Darnley, a witless beau who, like herself, was descended from a sister of Henry VIII and was therefore also a Stuart aspirant to the English crown. A year later, Darnley killed her private secretary and confidant, also an agent of the Curia, David Rizzio, in front of Mary's eyes. And when Darnley himself was assassinated i y67 by Lord Bothwell, probably with the approval, if not the instigation, of Ma

ria, was blown up with an entire house on a February night outside Edinburgh, Mary entered into a third marriage against the wishes of her confessor, but with the consent of three bishops, and only three months later married - according to the Protestant rite - the regicide and murderer of Gatien, with whom, according to her enemies, she had already had an adulterous relationship during the lifetime of her second husband. She fled, while in Scotland

civil war broke out and Bothwell escaped to Denmark, where he died, in favor of her Damley-born son, the future King James VI of Scotland {then King James 1st of England/Scotland), i 568 to England, where Elizabeth imprisoned her for i8 years and finally had her executed.

IRELAND - HEAD PRICES ON CATHOLIC PRIESTS AS ON THE HEAD OF AN ESOLF

In Ireland, on the Emerald Isle, conditions were hardly less devastating.

The momentous development there began in the i z century. by Hadrian lV. {Nicholas Breakspear), the son of a monk, the only English pope to date {VI499). The domineering pontiff was entrusted with the - previously often inauthentic

In the so-called Bull of Laudabiliter, the English King Henry II (i i Jq-i i 8g) ordered Ireland, naturally with Roman feudal claims, to be incorporated into his realm and thus to bind the 36 Irish dioceses of the time even more firmly to Rome. By the middle of the i 3rd century, after "ruinous wars" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche), three quarters of Ireland had been conquered by England, thus bringing about a calamity that, as is well known, lasted for a long time.

In the i 6th century, the English kings initiated a new subjugation of the country. Some of its most influential magiiates, especially those who seemed to aspire to supremacy, were defeated in the process. After Edward IV had already conquered the Gra fen Desmond, Henry VIII also liquidated several members of the House of Kil- dare, which had set the tone for decades. And although Ireland was predominantly Catholic - the

Although the proportion of Protestants in the population never exceeded a quarter - and remained a bulwark of the Roman Church, the Irish Parliament, dominated by immigrant Englishmen or their descendants, x 536 recognized the English Reformation laws and Henry VIII as spiritual leader. -54* -uch as Irish king

king. And since then, religious persecution has served to politically subjugate the Irish for centuries.

Of course, the brutal reanglization caused a series of long-standing uprisings by Anglo-Irish gentlemen; first of r 3q-i 36y that of Shane O'Neill, Lord of Tyrone, in Ulster. From i y6q to i i®3 the Desinonds rebelled in Monster. And back then, when Pope Gregor XIII. the Spanish King Philip II. - (Seppelt), but in vain, a small squadron under the "Colonel and General of His Holiness" Bastian San Joseppi also rushed to the aid of the Len, an enterprise which, of course, was a complete failure and ended with the slaughter of the papal heroes. Three Earls Desmond also lost their lives in the revolt, which covered southern Ireland "with corpses and ruins".

From x§q4 to i 6o3, the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, covered almost the whole of Ireland. The rebel operated for a long time Pope Clement VIII, sent one breve after another to O'Neill, the clergy, the grandees of the country and foreign princes, sending indulgences for the religious war, congratulations on the victories and incitements to continue the fight, so that the kingdom of Ireland would no longer be subject to the yoke of the infidels and Christ's members would no longer want the godless Elizabeth as their regent. Only with a larger army of zo ooo men was she able to quell the rebellion.

After the end of the Tudors, the oppressions and tribulations increased. Many thousands of acres of land were confiscated and English and Scottish Protestants were **systematically** settled. The Irish people, however, gradually and systematically disenfranchised and economically impoverished, lost not only their state and civil rights but also their religious rights; their church property fell to the Anglican clergy, to whom the Old Believers also had to pay tithes and tribute. Catholics were forbidden to set up schools, denied any office, their clergy was deposed, ostracized, the same price was put on the head of a priest as on the head of a wolf. And thousands of Irishmen ended up as slaves in the West Indies.

It was only during the Enlightenment, in the later i 8th century, that some of the most oppressive penal laws were repealed.

From all the confessional and power-political conflicts of interest, the constant sources of unrest, uprisings and battles in the Netherlands, France, the British Isles and beyond, the great catastrophe of the•7. J century gradually grew.
most prominent

q. CHAPTER

THE MUD FIGHT BEFORE THE GREAT WAR
FROM THE JOURNALISTIC BATTLEFIELD TO THE MILITARY BATTLEFIELD

-This war of extermination was preceded by a hundred-year war of feuding with a bitterness and hatred without equal in the history of any nation. -Almost all literary products d i s p l a y e d the outbursts of a terrible hatred: the press had become a true fugue of the times. To an ever-increasing degree, the uncontrollable scribes scattered 'mistrust, suspicion, envy and enmity' everywhere, stirred up all the liberties and seemed to pursue no other purpose than to incite the people and high lords to take up the sword.
Johannes]anssen'

-The religious disputes of t h e 6th century w e r e present in the lives of almost every human being, whether they were sudden or not. T h e y s h a p e d the perception of religion and the churches that supported it, as well as human interaction. They manifested themselves in every conceivable medium - in sermons, in the theater, in fiction, in song, in church lessons and in books.
The media have an important role **to** play in confessionalization. After all, they bear eloquent witness to the increasing tensions and conflicts, both in social and media terms ... Nevertheless, the Catholic religious polemics of the i6th century are particularly significant. Despite this, Catholic religious polemics of the sixth century in particular have remained largely unexplored beyond Catholic church historiography.
Kai Bremer-

-Meanwhile, the hatred between the warring religions had increased in bitterness. - The educated misused their creative powers to write foul-mouthed books that were greeted with delight by an uncritical public.

were welcomed. The Calvinists c a l l e d on all true believers to use violence and particularly enjoyed the more violent psalms. But even the Catholics and Lutherans were not free from guilt, and violence was everywhere regarded as a proof of true faith. The Lutherans attacked the Calvinists in the cities of Bcrlin, and Catholic priests in Bavaria went armed to defend themselves.

In Dresden, the mob held up the funeral of an Italian Catholic and tore the body to pieces, in the streets of Frsnkfurc arn Main there was a brawl between a protestant pastor and a Catholic priest, and the Calvinist services in Styria were frequently interrupted by Jesuits, who were present among the congregation in disguise and were so skillful that they handed out **breviaries to** the believers as a substitute for their prayer books.-

Cicely Veronica &edgwood'

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation increasingly clashed with and against each other over the course of the Roman Empire. Century, they increasingly clashed with and against each other. Religious tensions came to a head, the confessional conflicts, discord, quarrelsomeness and wildness grew from decade to decade. This is shown not only by the better-known battles in the context of confessionalization, in Aachen for example, the Cologne War, the Strafiburg Abbey War, the Hansen of the Spaniards and Holiards for many years on the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia as in enemy territory. For some, as for others, these campaigns had the character of raids, supply, even relaxation, of "recreational activities" for the troops. If the soldiers' comfort was no longer guaranteed, they were sometimes promised "two or three weeks ... be carried out

and uff den armen lcuten ligen - - - unsäglich ist-, wrote i 597 °- Xantener Stiftsherr Wilhelm von Breuers, - was wir heute von den Dutch, tomorrow by the Spanish troops, how they plunder, rob and burn; large stretches of land are completely uncultivated, many peasants are run out¡ Hunger and hardship are killing countless people; plague-like diseases are killing thousands in the country....; although we have nothing to do with the wars of the Spaniels and the Dutch, we are the prey of war.- Another Christian source calls the atrocities of the soldiers -so ryrannical ... that no Turk and unchristian could behave so cruelly -.

But even more than these rather sporadic, locally limited bloody conflicts, another war dominated the region and, in particular, the German population (around 7 million people), the medieval war, which was initially - even by Luther and Hein-

VIII - still conducted in Latin, the pro- pagandacricg, the so-called controversial polemic. Starting in many cases from the sermon and academic debate, this dispute popularized and emotionalized the somewhat tame theological topics and texts, and usually also had a political dimension in that it promoted or fought against a princely house.

The religious disputes, often as awkwardly crude as they were peculiarly dogmatic, increased more and more and took on such grotesque features that theologians and historians of later times did not like to take a closer look at theologia polemica, these - religious disputes -, a frequent contemporary term, as all too absurd, as "pathological", although, as is now emphasized, they were of "outstanding importance ... for contemporaries" (Pohlig), basically the journalistic prelude to the Three-Big Years' War. **It is evident** again and again, then and even before today: the hardest, most relentless struggle is always - for the monopoly of the mediation of faith or worldview - (Wolgast) - or at least protects the same from it.

But just as Christians only w a g e wars for the sake of peace, they also fight religious disputes purely for the sake of religious peace. The Catholic Imperial High Councillor Georg Edeq, who in his extensive book -Das buldene Fluess- only knows -Catholici- und - Schismatici" and rejects public debate, the rheo- logical "Wortzanck", as he would rather not overtax the - gemainen Pöuel/ vnnd ainfältigen Layen-, rather leave unenlightened, signalizes "ain gewisser beständiger Religions- frid" as a goal -, but admittedly not a -peaceful coexistence -, not a multi-, but a mono-confessionality, a

•Gleichschaltung" of consciences. Here - the well-known, typical Roman Catholic practice - the end of all disputation and discussion of matters of faith was to be directed and directed to the point where souls would rejoin the community of Catholic churches and reassign to them the religion and church property that had been taken away against God and law.

This compulsion to believe, however, was felt by sensitive contemporary witnesses to be worse than the horrific experiences of war, "worse than death, -grimmer den die pestf undt glutr und hungers noth ..." (Andreas Gryphius). (Andreas Gryphius).

The Catholic confessional dispute continues the medieval
The fight against "heretics" continued consistently, the stigmatization and demonization of those of other faiths at all costs. Recatholization usually meant the forced enforcement of the Catholic faith as the only valid denomination, sometimes even in places where people had renounced Catholicism during the Reformation.

However, neither side was initially and primarily concerned with convincing their opponents, whose arguments were - allegedly or really - not taken seriously anyway, but above all with forming and consolidating their own readership, their own confessional community. Last but not least, the many gaps in the education of poorly educated clerics, especially Catholics, who often only had a basic knowledge of theology and Latin, were to be filled by better-informed fellow clerics, who were much more suitable multipliers than the laity. In short, all in all, the disputants strove for a socio-political, a collectivizing effect of the dispute (Georg Simmei).

". .. SO GRAYISHLY VOMITED SNOT- A ND LUMPS OF SHAME

This dispute, conducted in the most diverse media, in pamphlets, postils, tracts, letters, satires, parodies, picture productions, was also carried out in the most colorful forms mostly between theologians, rarely by laymen, least of all by Catholic laymen, who were generally far too ignorant. It was possible to respond immediately or only after a long time, or to ignore an attack completely, perhaps because one did not even recognize it.

knew or did not want to take note of. As was often the case at the beginning of the Reformation, people could respond individually or, as was often the case later, in groups. Opponents could break off an argument because the topic was exhausted, because they were tired or simply didn't feel like it anymore. A new argument could also be started later between the disputants or an old one could be continued, whereby the initial surprise at having to speak again was occasionally great, as was the case with the Jesuit Scherer, who had 'so shattered and broken the controversialist's old face that he now hardly resembles a human being, let alone a doctor. -'

The better known a Jesuit was, the more dangerous he was, the more frequently and venomously he was attacked, and the faithful were expected to do every outrageous thing, every absurdity.

By the controversial theologian, the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmin, often scolded by Protestants as "bloodthirsty", like the Jesuits as a whole, celebrated by Catholics as a "model of all virtue", iqz3 beatified, iq3o canonized, The following year - the highest honor for a Catholic - he was elevated to the status of Doctor of the Church. i6i¢ - A truly new Zeining - wrote of this highly famous man that he had behaved princely in splendor and sufficiently epicurious in eating and drinking and sodomitic in his chastity and life. For he had always had four kindly goats standing on the litter, which he used at his will and had them brought before him each time with the most exquisite jewels, precious stones, silver and gold. In addition, he slept with six, ten hundred and forty-two people and committed fornication with them. Among them were five hundred and sixty-three wives, with whom he committed adultery two thousand two hundred and thirty-six times, and among them eighteen wives of foreign counts and lords, fifteen of the highest sex, whom he found to be virgins and brought to his withe by means of sorcery, as he officially proved in the same art; those he found not to be virgins he secretly executed with poison and sword or had thrown into the Tiber at night ..."'

A prominent convert (a convert from the late i 8th century

• ... so caäiiricu nuscExorzre Ro z- uxn Se x "cu nine rzs- zq3

Friedrich Staphylus, a one-time student of Melanchthon's, in a controversy at the beginning of the 1960s against Jacob Andreae, the Tübingen tlieologist and chancellor of the university, both of whom deliberately u s e d falsifications, Staphylus called the Lutheran a word twister, an unabashed preacher, and finally simply called him a "sow", ironically apostrophizing him as "dear Schmidische Saw" by using his additional name Schmidel, while Andreae told his opponent lie after lie, calling him a "lying mouth",
"deviant boy", even presenting him in the foreword as a -saw/yes a rough /thick /fierce saw- - controversial theology. Or: Christians among themselves. Scholars of God among themselves.

In the pamphlet "Ob der Bapst zu Rom der Antichrist sey-, Jesuit Ceorg Scherer {- ein grober Esel" for an opponent, -der in der H.Schrift nichts versteht: sonderf wie ein Blinder/ an den Wänden tappet", Verbreiter auch -vil grewlicher lugen vnd calum- nias" }, Scheren insinuates i y8 y Luther - nicht Reformation /sondern Deformationf nit Verbesserung f sondern Verböserung .... ., not only not restituting anything and bringing it to justice, but first of all to have made it worse/and first of all to have chained the top/to have confused all things/and to have thrown them over and under each other, and this - as much in political as in spiritual matters", in short, Luther's teaching was "built on a rotten foundation", from which now "all kinds of sects and pests necessarily grow like maggots out of a rotten cage ... . -

In a time that saw the postulates of faith and morals together, that understood the "propagation of the holy Catholic religion - as well as the preservation of good police" as an "overall goal", in the year i y88 a Catholic - the pre-dictatorial evil-doers and other heretical scribes .... to the common man as they are, namely arch-liars, wolves and cats.- They are, according to another papist, cats and wolves at the same time and also tear each other apart like **cats** and wolves'-. They - come in sheep's clothing", Aegidius Albertinus, who has served at the Munich court since i $93, also knows, -but inside they are ravening wolves. They advance evangelical freedom; but in the meantime they drive away

all virtue out of the world, open the door to all licentiousness, let all burdens shoot the bridle ..., so they come in a sheep's skin, as if they wanted to abolish the customs torn down in the church; but in the meantime and under the same pretense they do nothing else but tear down altars, strangle priests, desecrate the holy church ornaments ... -'°

True Christians" are fighting on all fronts, but are damning and demonizing each other. Dishonor and slander reach lonely heights, as do the most beautiful expressions of virtue. For it goes without saying that each camp is truthful to the extreme.

i 83 Jesuit Georg Scherer publishes his -Gewisse und wahrhaffre Newe **Zeitung** auB Constantinople". This is followed i5 8d by the response of the Protestant elite of Württemberg, a -War-
A powerful report/on the wicked lies of the wanton corrup- tions/ mockingly mocked and atrociously extinguished by Geor- gij Scherer/a Jesuit ... - And the next year, the latter again declares the -illness- of the Luthe- ranians to be so incurable in his -mild reply- that "neither doctor nor physician/neither bal- bian nor scissors can help anymore".

Jesuits only fought together with Jesuits, but never side by side with members of other orders; it did happen, however, that they polemicized against them - the competition between them is unmistakable - (Herzig), against the Dominicans or against the Capuchins, founded a few years before their Society, but still superior to it in terms of political intrigue as diplomats and at court at the beginning of the 7th century. The Jesuits sought, if at all possible, to play the first fiddle everywhere, preferring to be emphatically modest, but it was no coincidence that they claimed to be particularly arrogant, solely and exclusively, as the learned Capuchin Valerian Ma- gni wrote under the pseudonym Friedrich Treumann i 647 -as a warning to "all Christian potentates", - looking for "female domi- nat/sovereignty and wealth", whereby they -despise and belittle all other clergymen beside them ... despise and belittle ... esteem -.

The Jesuits also claimed special -seriousness- for their pamphlets. While those of the Protestants, for example, were mostly

while the works of the Ignatian disciples were without dedications, those of the disciples of Ignatius boasted dedications to high-ranking persons, princes and bishops, and were distinguished by the imperial printing privilege or by a more or less detailed reference to the censorship of the order'*.

In general, the Protestants in the later i6th century regarded the Jesuits as "not awakened by God but by the devil". In general, Protestants in the later sixteenth century considered the Jesuits to be "raised up not by God but by the devil", and saw them as the most fierce and most devious persecutors of Christ. Whoever trusts these devils, affirms the theologian Mengering, -is not of sound mind; whoever does not love them does not love God, and whoever even consorts with them is doomed to eternal damnation in the purgatory. And theologian Martin Chemttitz evaluates: - These 5chalksbuben throw their so ghastly vomited lumps of snot and shame out of their foul-smelling paunch and mouth- to -cover, destroy, reject, repudiate the word of God with it ..." The Jesuits are

"des Teuffels Postbotten", "des Teuffels BlaBbälg", are all

• Thieves and murderers, raging dogs and beasts, Neronianep horny goats - they are directly subject to Satan, who works directly through them. And after all, as the saying goes, even

"Lutherus ... advised:fThe Jesuits should be roasted ...- However, expulsion for reasons of faith occurred in pro-

testant territories, even though almost everywhere in Germany they strictly and for a long time insisted on exclusive Lutheran church sovereignty, the unconditional recognition of the state church, and strictly excluded people of other faiths from equal participation in public life.'$

" . . nes REiCH OF ANTICHRIST . . . THE GREAT MOTHER OF FORNICATION*

Procestantism had initially g a i n e d a lot of ground, so that in Germany around IS7° EChas an estimated seven tenths of the

population were new believers. Of course, the Protestants were increasingly and vehemently opposed by various wings, by doctrinal differences and by the

The Church was divided by the Apinic Controversy, the Cargian Controversy, the Majorist Controversy, the Syrianism Controversy, the Fascian Inheritance Controversy, the Syncretic Controversy and the particularly vicious Crypto-Calvinist Controversy, which led to representations, years of imprisonment and executions.

This was exploited by the Catholics, who were less fragmented on the whole and had long been scourging Protestant disunity, whose will to resist had already been awakened since the 1960s and whose clout had grown thanks to the Council of Trent (Chapter 3) and the new reform orders. The Roman Church now halted the advance of its opponents; here and there it even regained what had been lost through violent recatholicization. And its scholarly cadres also intervened in the battle by publishing, first and foremost the disciples of Loyola, who on the Catholic side were also the first to begin scattering more German-language polemics among the people, albeit for a long time, until around i 58y, almost only translations and hardly any independent German-language polemics.'-.

The Protestants portrayed all forms of Catholicism as -the scum of all idolatry and blasphemy-, as "a harbor for sodomites, thieves and adulterers", as a papist

• Synagogue of the devil and the satellites of Satan". Yes, dafi the -The fact that the "collapsed, stormed papal church" was rebuilt by -new whitewashers and builders- could only be explained as the -cunning and malice- of the Evil One.

Above all about the papacy, "the Roman Antichrist, the ba-Bylonian harlot and the whole idolatrous papist "turmoil" is then also attacked throughout the rest of the century in the best Lutheran tradition. Cyriakus Spangenberg scolds the so-called deputies of Christ as "idolaters, sorcerers, liars, murderers", their work is "eating and drinking, ravishing women and virgins"; the then Pope Pius IV, a "devil's head", a

"snotty rat king", was lying in Rome at Castel Sant'Angelo - like a fattened sow in a pigsty. After all, according to the Electorate of Saxony's court preacher Matthias Hoe i 6o6, "one bad boy, one adulterer, one sodomite, one murderer, one fence-sitter after another has followed him to Rome and become pope", referring to

Paul III.

who had rolled around in multiple incest - like a pig in dung - and killed his mother and sister.

-Everything that emanates from the pope and the papists, states i y88 a Protestant "faithful servant of the word", "is filth and stink and bloodthirsty and stained with blood", the pope's church, according to i y8q the theologian)acob Heer6rand, "an apostate, runaway marriage whore, a house whore, a harlot, a key whore , dage-
the common free whores, bush whores, field whores, country whores, hecr whores are sacred here".

Georg Miller, a pastor, superintendent and professor of theology in Jena, belts out a whole series of -papal sermons- which he also publishes in print, dedicated to two Saxon dukes, a demonstration that the whole papacy is made up of lies, murder, shame and robbery. In every sermon he presents a different type of pope, the "lying pope", the "murdering pope", the "shameful pope", the "shameful pope", etc. And of course the present is no better than the past, as Miller also reports that in the last thirty years, between i y5o and i 58o, the popes killed at least nine hundred and ten people through murder and bloodshed,
-among which were said to have been a total of thirty-nine princely persons, one hundred and forty-eight counts, two hundred and thirty-five barons, one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred and fifteen of the nobility and seven times one hundred thousand six hundred of other common people. But the pope wanted more - all the Protestant kingdoms and principalities at once in a bath of blood - indeed, "an inveterate devil", he wanted to see "the whole of Christendom swimming in its own blood".

The Protestants were weakened not only by the resurgent papal church and their own trench warfare, but also by the advance of the Calvinists in Germany and Austria, France, Poland, Bohemia and Hungary.

"CHRIST JESUS WITH THE CHRISTIANS, / THE DEVIL WITH THE CALVINISTS"

The Lutherans had been made to fear the "Calvinian poison", the Calvinian plague, and the Calvinists had often been portrayed as "devils in the flesh", which was part of the pastoral care of the Wittenlnrgers, so to speak. Indeed, the Lutheran senior and pastor Zacharias Faber wanted to provide two hundred, if not three hundred, proofs that -the Calvinist doctrine was much worse- than - the doctrine of the devil-. For as the Electorate of Saxony's chief court preacher
Matthias HOf I -4 of the Calvinists said: -The three L's: lie, deny, blaspheme are their daily bread.

The dispute between Lutherans and Calvinists grew nastier from year to year. Towards the end of the i 6th century, preachers of both denominations were calling each other dogbites, dogs, hangman's servants, swine eaters, blood drinkers, God eaters and the like in the pulpit. Calvinist zealots insult the Christ of the Lutherans as his impotent brain idol, wolf, murderer, Baal and donkey. And on the Lutheran side, they mocked the Calvinist "Lord God": "Just as a usurious bull or roarer may not be considered a fornicator or adulterer if he jumps on all the cows, so the Calvinist God wants to be angelically pure and holy if he already tempts, lures and drives the wicked boys and lost woodlice to all kinds of sin, shame and vice according to his will."

Of course, the elite did not stop at mere polemics. Whoever "had quite a Lutheran heart - stormed the homes of Calvinists, as he did in Leipzig, robbed them completely and hunted Calvinists in the streets of Berlin. In certain areas of Poland, however, Lutheran pastors risked their lives; in the canton of Lucerne and the Black Forest, Protestant merchants were burned to death; in Bohemia, Austria and Bavaria, Catholic clergymen only appeared armed.

In the Upper Palatinate, whose population had had to change denomination several times since i y38, before Elector Maximilian of Bavaria criminalized the Protestant confession in i 6a8 and ordered the unconditional re-Catholicization of all subjects, whereby

With the help of the Jesuits and the Pope, he used coercive measures such as fines, corporal punishment, imprisonment and expulsions, and in Amberg alone he had well over ten thousand Protestant books burned - in the Upper Palatinate, Calvinists tried to "convert" the town of Neumarkt by starving it. And when, in the same year in Tirschenreuth, the Calvinist governor Valentin Windsheim threatened with his lansquenets, he was "miserably murdered on merit" by Lutherans; first cruelly martyred, then dragged through the town, finally "slaughtered without anyone's mercy, even the corpse mishandled; the women also took a special pleasure in such a gruesome act of murder". Similarly, in 5qa, the Calvinist Sebastian Breitschedl of Nabburg was allegedly inflicted with three hundred wounds by the Lutheran citizenry before he was buried like a piece of cattle far outside the town."

Even during the "Calvinist war" in Electoral Saxony, blood was shed. Chancellor Doctor Nicolaus Krell, a Calvinist, took such harsh action against many Lutheran pastors that such persecution and execution had not been heard of in many hundreds of years. He had a Lutheran pastor tortured so horribly for three days, even under false suspicion, that even the executioner showed compassion; but Krell **"always** refreshed him again. i 5q i Of course, when the 3 z year-old Elector Christian I. drank himself to death, Calvinism was defeated in Electoral Saxony, Chancellor Krell was imprisoned on the Königstein and in the fall, almost half-dead after ten years in prison, was beheaded himself. The widowed Electress Sophie had the blood scaffold that had already been erected in Dresden taken down again and, closer to the eyes of the nobility, erected once more so that she c o u l d better enjoy the spectacle in the company of a few ladies-in-waiting.'-

During the Krell regiment there had also been other performances, almost metaphysical ones, hellish and heavenly imaginings: Women giving birth to children with gagging beards or toads. Swords dipped in blood were also frequently seen in the sky, as was the blood-drenched figure of Christ, and great cries of woe were heard from the clouds in broad daylight. In addition, a number of ghosts

ghosts, probably seven feet high, walked through the church in Zwickau during the service. Satan himself appeared to many, young and old, in various guises, with and without horns, in Eilenburg o n a Sunday afternoon with burning horns on the market square, making ghastly thunderstorms, twisting the necks of children, so that the whole world was in distress and terror."

The devil always plays a part in the Christian story of salvation, indeed it lives from him more than from its other figures. The Protestant people could even be made to believe that the Jesuits harden their claws and goats' feet.'°

Just as the Calvinists hated the Lutherans almost more than the Popes, some Lutherans hated the Calvinists even more than the Catholics, even declaring that -Calvinists were not Christians, but baptized Jews and Mohammedans, -Christians, and again and again -incarnate devils". Twenty, forty and more characteristics of the wolves, "which are exactly the same as those of the Calvinists", which is why even a child must "realize" that "they are of the devil". -The Jena professor Johann Friedrich Celestinus also called them "uninitiated wolves" and asserted that anyone who did not recognize their "ghastly, terrible wolf claws" understood "nothing at all about the Christian faith" and was "not even powerful enough to use their reason and natural understanding".

No wonder, when people in Kursachsen said around i 6oo: -Dear papist than Catvinist". Or when i 6oy the Calvinist court preacher Fabronius wrote of the -common- Hessian people that no Turk, no Jew, no pagan, no pope was as detested and persecuted as the Calvinists. - Chrisms Jesus with the Christians,f The devil with the Calvinists," The Calvinists, for their part, were also divided, among others into Supralapsarians and Jnfralapsarians, into Gomarists and Arminians, whereby the Gomarists at the General Synod of Dordrecht i6i 8/i6iq declared the Arminians to be "heretics", banished them, imprisoned them and even executed some of them.

-UMCHRISTt Li EBE ... COME WITH YOUR HELLBARDS, CHANNELS AND BOOKS . ." ODElt: "DRUTSCH LAN D IN SRINE OWN BLOOD-

The barely manageable great feather war raged all the more furiously; t h e closer one came to the great battle of annihilation, the propaganda grew immeasurably, the number of polemical writings, it was complained, had -as it were darkened the sun . "Anyone who has witnessed this," writes the -simple Lay- i6 ry, a year before the outbreak of the war, "must truly be surprised that we have not long since come to general bloodshed, for it is beyond all measure, how the scribes, if one can count them by the hundreds, are slandering, cursing and demonizing each other, and inciting princes, high lords and people, inciting and stimulating them to riot, so that it is not enough to say. Nothing that was sacred and honorable to the ancestors is worth anything anymore; everything is dragged into the dung heap, blasphemed, maligned; the high chiefs are touched and executed with impunity; every scribe wants to be right and his faith alone makes him blessed, but what his adversary says is all of the devil and he himself is relegated to the stinking pit of hell from which he c r a w l e d out; they call every adversary even worse and more wicked than the devil and Belzebub." *

At the beginning of the 7th century, the Protestant camp was constantly incited to a bloody religious war. "The
The Pope and his boys - it says in the dedication of a pamphlet published in Mühlhausen in 6o3 - are rich alone, have seized all money and goods by force, falsehood and lies ... Why don't you oppose the ripe wolves, great thieves and robbers, such as the papists, by force? Open your eyes, it is time ... -- And, rushes another opus from the same year: " D o you not s e e , you German brethren, what is in store for you ... as Christ lives, the priests and their princes, Jesuits and suites have allied themselves and sworn to such a great battle of blood in Germany, it is still secret, but

true ... Come, dear brothers, celebrate no more; God's honor and Christ's will and your blessedness are at stake. Let the priests and Jesuits and their servile princes, in their alliance, one day attack you all: for Christ's love and his rose-colored blood, I beg you, come with your halberds, cannons and rifles before the boys.'"ı

Again and again, the]esuites, the -Jesuit stinkbugs-, this -hellish breed of vipers, are accused of working towards a great bloodshed, a war. Thus Lucas Osian- der, court preacher to Henog Ludwig von Wümemberg, warns i y85 "against the Jesuits' bloodthirsty attacks" - bloodthirst: the addiction they are constantly said to have - and leaves no doubt about it: -if the Je- suites could drown Germany in its own blood, they would and will ..."

For the Württemberg court preacher, the Loyola A p o s t l e s are creatures of Satan, - "BlaBbälg" of the devil, warmongers. "Just as a drummer/ who blows in war or in a meeting/ would be considered/ as if he himself lends a hand/ whether he carries in his hand not a rifle/spike/ or other weapon but a drum: So also the Jesuits are better not to be respected/ than when they themselves go there in armor/ with rifles/spikes/ and other weapons against the Lutherans. -

A Styrian preacher proclaims -how the Jesuits in Graz give the most cruel and murderous advice, -how cruel and murderous they act in Würzburg .... They are in the Emperor's ears every day, telling him that he should cause a general bloodbath among all Protestants, while they themselves murder with poison, daggers and anything else that has a name. They want to overthrow the entire Roman Empire and drown it in its blood."

On the other hand, the fear of many Catholics of a general conflict, of a "war fury" grew, whereby here, of course, it was not the Jesuits but the Lutheran preachers and their followers who were carrying out bloodthirsty attacks and practices.

-People," writes Volker Press, "saw the disaster coming and talked it up" - above all, one might add, the clergy.

io. CHAPTER

THE THIRTY-YEAR WAR BEGINS

-But one last thing remains decisive. At the bottom of all the struggles of the new year
In the nineteenth century, the religious idea was humming ... The heresy of the age of mimicry, basically a category of the individual and the spiritual, in combination with national and political approaches, led to a terrible poisoning of all humanity, to an unleashing of the most uncontrolled brutality.
Karl Brandi'

-We have been hunted like game in the woods. One was caught and badly beaten, the other w a s hanged and stabbed, the third was even shot, and one h a d his breast and clothes ripped off and taken."
Hans Heberle,
Shoemaker and chronicler (1197 r 6771'

-The houses are burnt/the churches are destroyed/the villages are turned upside down/the foreshadowing is consumed/one sees the great cities of the countries burnt to the ground f The glory of the land may no longer be recognized because of war, robbery, murder and fire it becomes a desert J The free Roman Empire is now becoming a barbaric empire.
Anonymous contemporary flyers'

On i6. August, two days before the imperial election in Frankfurt, the Palatine w a s e l e c t e d king in Prague. Today's election marked the fight to t h e death against Habsburg. This had to do everything in its power to regain Bohemia if it did not want to lose Austria and its old neighboring countries, including the imperial crown, of course ... And i n d e e d, it is impossible to imagine what the consequences of a Protestant victory would have b e e n . Just imagine what the **hedeuter,** Austria Protestant, the Habsburgs driven **out of** Germany! This family, which

to this day has brought nothing but disaster and always the greatest disaster upon the German people -- May
Johannes Haller-

In one respect, there was no difference between the confessions, Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism, each of which was used by the prince to a s s e r t his authority. For the Habsburgs, this was still acceptable, for they were unswervingly guided by absolutism in all matters, but for the princes who called for freedom, it was a screaming contradiction, for they demanded from the emperor what they denied their own subjects."
C. Yi Wcdgwood'

UNION UN Lic
THE CHRISTIAN BRUDS
FORM

A decade before the war began, on around May x6o8, under the leadership of the Calvinist Elector Frederick IV of the Palatinate (z 583-i 6zo), an ailing and almost notorious drunkard, several southern and western German states joined together for ten years in Ahausen in Ansbach to form a Protestant, in reality predominantly Calvinist, union: Electoral Palatinate, Wiirttemberg, Baden, Ansbach, Kulmbach-Bayreuth, Palatinate-Neuburg. By February i 6io, six imperial cities, including 5trafiburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, as well as Hesse-Kassel, Kurbrandenburg, Palatinate-Zweibrücken and Öttingen, h a d allied themselves with them.

This union was opposed on i o. July i 6oq, the Catholic League led by the Bavarian Duke Ma- ximilian (z y q -- s -), which, unlike the latter, still had a temporary role to play in the Thirty Years' War.
gained considerable importance. Maximilian, an extremely dominant Wittelsbach who was as zealous for the church as he was for increasing his princely power, vehemently promoted the Counter-Reformation, cooperated closely with the Jesuits and Capuchins and, it was said, e r a d i c a t e d "heresy" more efficiently than anyone else, never forgetting his own advantage. The lord of almost a million subjects punished adultery with death, sent people to the galleys every year, attended witch trials where they were tortured, and maintained a standing army. He later dissolved the League, which was actually his work, and founded it anew.
Such an alliance of the Catholic potentates had been the Popes' intention.
has been striving for a long time, the first impetus characteristically

The three ecclesiastical prince-electors gave their support in 1603 in order to finance a 5treit- power - 'solely for defense' (founding document) - of zoooo mercenaries. Now, for nine years, Electoral Mainz, Electoral Cologne, Electoral Trier, the bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Regensburg, Passau as well as the prince abbot of Kempten and the prince provost of Ellwangen joined the league. They were soon joined by other chief shepherds from Bamberg to Strasbourg as well as Swabian prelates and nobles, but not the Habsburgs, who were at odds with each other.

The Union's aim was to protect peace and its rights; the League's aim was to preserve peace and the true Catholic religion. The Acts of Confederation of both provided for an army and financial contributions. Btindesoberst Maximilian also won over General Johann Tserclaes von Tilly. And in August 1610, Philip III of Spain and the Pope promised to support the League for three years with a total of around I, J million and 3ooooo guilders respectively.

Since the danger of a conflict was great, both alliances sought support abroad, the Union to England, France, Holland, the League to Spain and Lorraine, and so they staggered from crisis to crisis into war amidst mutual mistrust and casual uprisings.

7 In I6o8, riots in the Swabian imperial town of Doauwörth, where the Protestants, in an overwhelming majority, wanted to become the sole rulers, triggered the
imposition of the imperial ban. His troops approached with all haste, carried out the execution, clearly a matter for a Swabian district under imperial law, and began the catholicization of the city. i6oq Maximilian received it as a pledge and effectively incorporated into his duchy those incapable of paying the required zJ y death guilders.

A rebellion in Bohemia x6og initially diminished the emperor's reputation, but the fronts there remained, the tensions, indeed they soon led to new quarrels and clashes. And while armaments were being prepared throughout the West, in France, Spain, Austria and the Empire, the Holy Father

Paul li (i 6o5-i 6a i) told the Spanish ambassador in August r 6o9, one month after the founding of the League, that he would rush to help with all the money he had if iron was used against the heretics.- Indeed, in the same year the Pope repeatedly assured the League that he intended to help not only with money but also with troops.

On the Lower Rhine, the death of the mentally ill Duke Johann Wilhelm, Catholic ruler of the mixed-confessional duchies of Jülich, Cleves, Berg, the counties of Mark and Ravensburg, caused an international dispute over the succession, which was indeed extremely complicated.

The lands of the unfortunate prince were of strategic importance for both the Protestant and Spanish Netherlands. The Emperor claimed the provisional government for himself and ordered its sequestration. Two Protestant pretenders to the throne advanced from the Empire, Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg and Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Palatinate-Neuburg. The two "posseurs" wanted to rule together, but fell out over income and religion and changed their faith. The Brandenburger converted to Calvinism, the Count Palatine married a sister of the Duke of Bavaria and became a Catholic - catechized by the latter himself. Ambrogio Spinola, the battle-hungry Genoese commander of the Spanish army, now joined them from the southern Netherlands, while Prince Moritz of Orange came from the northern Netherlands. In Paris, Henry IV, the former Huguenot leader, who had been Catholic since i j Q3 but was allied with German Protestants, was already on the point of marching to the Rhine; only his assassination by a Catholic fanatic prevented a European war.

Francois Ravaillac, a Frenchman in his early thirties who is eager to believe,

Henry IV, the anti-Spanish Catholic, as the main enemy of the Church and stabbed the almost sixty-year-old king, who had just fallen in love with the fifteen-year-old wife of Prince Condé, to death.

*4- äI 16 iO if1 Paris when he got his car stuck in a narrow street. Ravaillac's birthplace was razed to the ground and his relatives from France were sentenced to death.

He himself was horribly tortured and publicly quartered. Since the perpetrator did not reveal his accomplices and the judges did not even dare to ask about accomplices {!), nothing is known for certain. However, most people suspect the Spanish court and the Jesuits, "fanatical priests", as Ranke writes, while the Catholic Handbook of Church History exonerates the Jesuits.

According to almost universal opinion, the murder prevented the outbreak of war, which a few years later turned the empire into the battlefield of Europe and began with an interlude in Bohemia.

THE ÜRAGER ÜENSTERSTU R2 (13 . M i 1618)

Bohemia belonged to the imperial confederation, but its royal crown, in the hands of the Habsburgs since x y z6, was not hereditary but an electoral crown and was important not least because the Bohemian king, as the seventh, if not always equal, elector, had a vote in the election of the emperor. The College of Electors, the highest-ranking body in the Empire, consisted of the three ecclesiastical princes of Mainz, Cologne and Trier as well as the four secular princes of the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg and Bohemia.

The country was small, but its rulers had sovereignty over the neighboring countries, the Duchies of Silesia and Lusatia as well as the Margraviate of Moravia, all with their own capital, legislation and jurisdiction. Bohemia was rich thanks to its trade, its agriculture, its precious metals had a respectable reputation, as did its glass and fish farming. Because of its estate economy, it was later known in the West, not without envy, as
"Paradise of the nobility". The limited territory was home to the

• 7 JIn the early 19th century, there were no fewer than fourteen hundred mostly Lutheran noble families, who of course stood by the Habsburg government out of fear of the intolerant Calvinist minority.

There were relatively few problems under Maximilian II, who had become Roman and Bohemian king *in 56z*, - i 4 emperor. For Maximilian, for dynastic reasons and under the influence of his strictly Catholic wife, his cousine Maria, the daughter of Charles V, was Catholic, but was clearly inclined towards Protestantism {S. zzö f.), whose nobility he allowed to practice the Augsburg religion in the hereditary lands i 568 through the "religious concession".

burger denomination on its estates, as did i75 the nobility of Bohemia.

Maximilian's son and successor, Emperor Rudolf II, who was gradually suffering from new bouts of depression. {Although he supported the Counter-Reformation, under the pressure of the threat of a general uprising, in the so-called Bohemian Letter of Majesty of q. July 1609, the non-Catholics, the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, were granted religious freedom and permission to establish churches and schools. Nevertheless, Catholics and Protestants clashed over the years, ever-increasing pressure was exerted on the Protestant nobility, their clergy were fired in favor of Catholic clergy, and action was taken against the churches of the I'ieu believers in **Braunau** and Klostergrab. And after Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, the future emperor, who had once been educated by Jesuits in Ingolstadt and was hostile to any form of compromise, became a staunch Catholic on June 6, i 617. After he had become King of Bohemia on June 6, i 617 by election of the Estates, but against the strong reaction of both Protestant circles and some of the nobility, and a year later also King of Hungary, a regional rebellion broke out on the occasion of a Protestant congress called to Prague, out of bitterness over the disregard of the complaints made, from which the great European war then developed

- in a country more densely populated with cities than other states, including such well-known trading centers as Frankfurt/Oder, Frarikfurt/Main, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Augsburg, a total of twenty-one million people ruled by more than two thousand separate authorities'.

In Bohemia, Archduke Matthias was on the z . May i Sx x on the

His brother Rudolf, who was soon to die, was deposed and Catholicism was further strengthened; for example, i3z parishes were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Prague alone. Emperor Matthias (i 6i a-i 6i q) now ruled from Hradcany, his governors, and on z). On May z) i 6i 8, Counts Jaroslav Martinitz and Wilhelm Slavata, both intolerant Old Believers and particularly hard-line, were "pitifully" thrown out of the window by the delegates of the Assembly of Estates, led by the Calvinist Count Thurn and the Lutheran Count Schlick.
"gestierzet-.

Falling windows had not been so unusual in Prague since the Hussite period; it was almost called the Bohemian method. The gentlemen also fell fourteen meters down into the castle moat, but, of course, quite unintentionally, onto heaps of garbage, onto dung, and so, according to Slavata's memoirs, Count Martinitz, after shouting the name 'Jesus, **Maria'** incessantly as he flew down, sank to the ground as quietly as if he were snoring.

Not enough of the miraculous: - Several "homme credible people" - the credibility of the witnesses of miraculous events is notorious - have also testified that at that time they . . the most blessed Virgin Mary, how she received the Lord with her mantle in the air and carried him to earth. Count Martinitz did not see this himself, but it came before his eyes during the fall, as if heaven had opened and God wanted to receive him into eternal joy."

Unfortunately, one may say, nothing came of it. And Count Slavata, who had made the sign of the Holy Cross in the window of the Hradcany and prayed contritely before the fall:
-Lord have mercy on me a sinner-, was spared eternal life for the time being, may one say? Nevertheless, he had an ex-voto dedication **painted** on which angels carry him away ...

Yes, miracle after miracle. Philipp Fabricius, the secretary, who followed the two men who had been removed via the Bohemian method, via defenestration, immediately and again calling out "Fleifiig to God", also set off in the silence of the castle moat and reached his destination via

many perils to Vienna, -where he reported to His Majesty and other gentlemen on the Prague events- - finally was ennobled with the prestigious title of "von Hohenfall".'°

THE BörtMlSCH E WAR

The Bohemian uprising, which was largely made up of the lesser nobility, spread rapidly, especially as it was not only about religion and denomination, it was not only about Catholics and Protestants, but also about social and patriotic motives, about the power-political interests of the leading opponents in the war, about the estates and monarchical rule, about a prince who did not want to be a "princeps modificatus" but a "princeps absolutes". In the summer, the revolt also spread to the neighboring countries of Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia, even Upper and Lower Austria and even Hungary, which was already half Protestant and ruined by constant fighting - just as Bohemia, the richest Habsburg possession, was ruined after two years of war.

In the meantime, a Protestant group of 3o directors had formed in Prague.

The government of the Estates was constituted under the rule of the Countess. Under Count Heinrich Matthias Thurn, their army advanced as far as Vienna, where, together with Bethlen Gabor, the prince of Siebenbürgen's warhorse, they invaded the suburbs of the city, which was overcrowded with refugees and wounded and plagued by famine and plague. However, in the spring, the Bohemians were forced to retreat again by imperial forces with the support of Spanish troops and papal funds, without, of course, giving up.

On the contrary, the insurgents had, through the Bohemian Act of Confederation of 3 x. July i 6i9, -this highly necessary Christian Union . ... solely for the promotion of God's honour -, now had a constitution with a Danish structure, which, although it resolutely emphasized the principle of freedom of faith, -the free exercise of religion", the

favored Protestants to the hilt. In particular, the Act fought against the Jesuits, forbidding them to "enter now and forever / into these undeveloped lands"; but where they "still exist / or would like to sneak in secretly", they were to be "abolished completely".

The -Confoederatio bohemica- called on all the German Habsburg lands to join, and on i6. August, the Lower and Upper Austrian estates joined. Even and especially in Styria and Carinthia - "for the most part", as the Venetian envoy wrote, "they were not Catholic of their own free will, but by force, and were ill-disposed towards the emperor, especially towards the Jesuits". However, the rebels probably had just as many national and political motives as religious ones; indeed, many contemporaries considered religion to be merely a cover for the rebels.

On zz. August, the Bohemians deposed Ferdinand II as their {since i 6ry) am- for breach of the crown oath and other violations of the law.

and, on z*7 August iö rg, raised the Calvinist Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate, the head of the

Union, with a large majority (i oo against4 6 votes) as the new Bohemian King; whereupon the Te Deum laudamus resounded, Bohemian and German, as well as the thundering of guns - "signs of joy". The

Court preacher Friedrichs had urged him to accept the crown, seeing it as a sign from God.

• It is a call from Gort that I must not ignore," the new lord now residing on the Vltava confessed to the Duke of Bouillon, his uncle, an unscrupulous Protestant intriguer, "my only aim is to serve God and his church." As the son-in-law of James 1st of England and Scotland, nephew of Prince Mofitz of Orange, Governor of the Netherlands, cousin of Gustav Adolf of Sweden and a relative of other influential rulers, Frederick of the Palatinate seemed the right man. The ecclesiastical Elector of Cologne, the brother in the flesh of the Duke of Bavaria, had, of course, already -a

* -. 3 - ilnd So-jährigen Krieg- prophesied."

But only one day after Frederick received the Wenceslas crown (with

a thorn from Christ's crown of thorns!), on z8. August iöi q, Ferdinand II, the deposed Bohemian king, for opponents the - simple, desuetude soul-, the -first enemy of the Protestant religion-, was unanimously elected Roman Emperor in Frankfurt - with obligatory Te Deum laudamus, with the ringing of bells and, it belongs closely together, not without -the rough guns being set off around the city-.

All the more so was the solemn ceremony there on September p., the handing over of a blank sword, the presentation of scepter and apple, the coronation with the old imperial crown by all three spiritual electors (Accipe coronam Regni etc.) completely integrated into the religious ritual, in Mass, Gloria, Benediction, reception of the sacraments, Te Deum laudamus once again (the self-evident ehenkoehenkoe).), completely integrated into the religious ritual, in mass, Gloria, Benediction, reception of the sacraments, Te Deum laudamus again (which of course the enemy in Prague knew how to belt out, for example in the same year "in all churches at the birth of Frederick's son, and of course also - with ry pieces of joyful music").

Pope Paul V, however, who through his nuncios had been in constant contact with the archducal court in Graz {where they resided for almost half a century, until i6), who i*-7 had donated "two precious reliquaries" to Ferdinand, then repeatedly urged him to elect the emperor, also ordered appropriate public prayers, who himself had therefore prayed at the tomb of St. Peter and elsewhere, Paul V. sent a long, heartfelt letter of congratulations to the new emperor, soon to become the prototype of the abolutism of his time, and *did not* fail to emphasize to the cardinals "that one may expect the greatest advantages for the Catholic Church from the extraordinary piety of the chosen one and his outstanding zeal for the Apostolic See.'°.

In the cold summer of i6zo and in the following early fall, the League army, a J ooo men strong, advanced with Maximilian of Bavaria, a distant cousin of his opponent, Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, with Count Tilly and, since September 8, the imperial armada via Osterrcich to Bohemia. **Pope** Paul, who supported the League with large sums of money, prayed hard to the Emperor to

put down the uprising "with all **his might"**, as he expected this to "weaken the Protestant forces immeasurably".

power in Germany. And Maximilian, for many Bavaria's greatest ruler of all, in any case an enormously ambitious and power-hungry potentate, who acted at least as much for his own profit as for the interests of Rome, had almost prevailed over the emperor, who was de facto dependent on him and systematically preparing for war, but who needed the help of Bavaria and the League to do so, on 8 October i6ig in Munich by making a series of serious concessions: sole supreme command, reimbursement of all costs and the surrender of all conquests. On October 8, i6ig in Munich, the emperor, who was at least as dependent on him and systematically preparing the war, but who needed the help of Bavaria and the League to do so, was almost extorted by a series of serious concessions: sole supreme command, first payment of all costs, the transfer of all conquests in the empire, including all rights and revenues as his own and - in a secret agreement - the hereditary transfer of the kingship of the Palatinate to him, Maximilian, the House of Bavaria.

The Munich Treaty, the basis for the initially very successful cooperation between Habsburg and the League, makes as little mention of the acquisition of the electoral dignity as the preamble does of any territorial gains. On the other hand, this preamble repeatedly invokes the -Catholic religion-, repeatedly speaks of the -Catholic defensive system-, affirms that one wants to -lead to the best for the common being'-, "prefer the common wolrd to all privatis", and this of course "in the name of the Most High-.

The clergy had already been beating the advertising drum for some time,

• In order on the one hand", the Venetian envoy reported, "to secure their own &seat, and on the other hand to come to the aid of the Emperor's army in Austria". Jesuit preachers and Capuchins led the advance on Prague, their twelve largest cannons bore the names of the twelve apostles of Jesus, and the special patron saint of their commander Tilly, known by the people as the "armored monk", the Virgin Mary, was always, as Emperor Ferdinand once solemnly declared during rank disputes, the real and only commander-in-chief of his armies. In Germany, public prayers were organized for Catholics, and the Jesuits read thousands of masses week after

week to promote the good cause.'-

Gradually, the traces of the war, which many compared to a new crusade, began to show: desolate land, abandoned villages,

In the ligistic-imperial and Bohemian Hetr, fever epidemics broke out, in the latter, a particularly motley bunch, mutiny threatened due to outstanding wages. Deserters were hanged on the gallows, and King Frederick, following the "Rut of God", not only pledged his J-we1en, but also extorted cash from Catholics such as Juderi. In **Prague,** his residence, it was said to be like So- dom and Gomorrah, with balls and banquets and the young monarch bathing stark naked in the Vltava in front of the assembled court ladies. The kitchens were also "cleansed", freed of all idolatrous waster, especially St. Vitus Cathedral and the large Jesuit temple; indeed, the royal court priest used the relics as fuel.

Under these circumstances, a battle took place on November 8, i 6zo on Wei- Ben Hill (Bilà hora) outside Prague.

The field cry of the Catholic fighters: -"Sancta Maria"; before the slaughter they sang the "Salve Regina", and the Spanish Carmelite Domenico a 5anta Maria, who was venerated "like a saint", had consecrated their banners and led the attack with a picture of the Virgin Mary, which had been desecrated by Calvinists. {The image led to victory, and soon afterwards became an almost deified cult object in Rome as the "Madonna della Virtoria" - not without papal support - and perished in a fire in 833). According to Ranke, this single battle put an end to the power of the Palatine Frederick and his designs. - In one moment, immediately after the greatest danger, the Catholic principle was all-powerful in Upper Germany and in the Austrian provinces."

After the victory in the name of God, as Duke Maximilian wrote to the Elector John George I of Saxony (who in turn had gone over to t h e Emperor and invaded Lusatia), the rich city was robbed of its - very sad and miserable state- as late as yo. November, a Prague man records: the continuing plundering and murder, first in the houses of the directors

and reforms, then indiscriminately everywhere; -the same robbery is also in the streets. One neighbor betrays the other, the soldiers have started, but the locals, who disguise themselves in such a way, do the same, the French, Poles and Germans do the same and there is still no end to it ..." But where there is nothing, they are not sure of their necks ... -

Many Calvinists and Lutherans, the preachers of the Reformation, were all the same, they appeared with breviaries and rosaries or tried to forget their revolt in Catholic monasteries. The most noble role model, a type of priest of the millennia: Dika- stus, priest at the Teinkirche. None other than he crowned Frederick V as king, and now he condemned the recently celebrated king from sermon to sermon as an enemy of the fatherland, while wishing the emperor victory and salvation.

Count Palatine Frederick, however, who, abandoned by his allies, wore the crown for not much longer than a winter and was thus mocked as the "Winter King", had only just managed to escape his extradition together with his wife and son, first to Silesia, then into exile in Holland. As a result of this -special fate of God- he also forfeited to his country and people "a very great wealth of jewels, treasures of money, important documents, etc., hoping, however, as he informed the leaders of the Union from Breslau on November 5, 1 i 6z r, -to recuperate and regain what he had lost with God's help. - '-

For the time being, however, God stood by the other side. And Maximilian savored his triumph, the misery of the defeated, the submission to Prague. And his confessor rejoiced with him; from the "closest distance" and with a joyful heart, he "enjoyed the spectacle of defeated delusion." In Munich, however, the duke continued to enjoy the greeting of his subjects, the blessing of the bishop at the gate of the Prauenkirche, where the choir immediately sang around him: "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousand." And he thanked God, all the slain before his eyes, the sacrifices of the past and the present that were so useful, especially as the emperor already owed him three million guilders for his military service, for which Upper Austria now fell to Bavaria as a pledge. And soon

when he also took possession of the Palatinate charter including the Upper Palatinate as a pledge. The Habsburg's debts to Maximilian were already estimated at sixteen to eighteen million gulden in the spring of i6z3.

The BcuTGzRIC HT
OR: SoxsT **IS THE WHOLE** Tac
ALREADY BEEN . . ^

Despite everything, Emperor Ferdinand was the main beneficiary of the war. In Vienna, he offered his thanksgiving to the Holy Virgin in cash, along with ten thousand guilders for a crown of pure silver. And he also sent her a second, even more expensive crown in the Roman church of Santa Maria della Scala - the Mother of the Lord could always buy it cheaper than Maximilian! For the rest, Vienna echoed with the thunder of cannons, psalms of thanksgiving and the priests' cries of vengeance. "You shall smash them with an iron scepter, you shall smash them like pots," preached one after a Bible verse at the news of the fall of Prague. In Küne, the Jesuits were back, as were the expelled Catholic officials; the people were disarmed, censorship was introduced, elective kingship was abolished and the Bohemian crown became hereditary in the House of Habsburg. Ferdinand sought unrestricted tyranny, and **of course** not **only** in Bohemia.

In Rome on i. December i 6zo, a special courier from the Prince of Bavaria conveyed his humble triumph: "I myself came and saw, but God was victorious -. And the Pope immediately gave thanks in his favorite church of St. Maria Maggiore before the "image of grace" for a full hour for such a striking victory, which brought so many good consequences for the Catholic religion in Germany (he di tante buone consequenze per la religione cattolica). He also gave thanks through a public celebration, through prayers of thanksgiving, a procession of thanksgiving, in which he himself took part despite the bad weather, through a mass of thanksgiving celebrated in the presence of all the cardinals, including

and ailing, as well as the Gesaiidten half of Europe, in person. Of course, he also thanked him by cannon, this time from Castel Sant'Angelo. And of course the Holy Father could not express his joy to the Emperor in words, but he could urge him to use the victory he had won as much as possible in favor of the Catholic religion."

The Battle of the White Mountain - the most important and momentous event of the pontificate - was unfortunately no longer glorified on the already completed tomb, although its reliefs and inscriptions "rightly praise Paul V's peacemaking activities. - {of Pastor).'-

The defeat of the Bohemians, this -high punishment- of God, - devastatingly to blame-, as Count Thurn now complains, by -our soldiers, as Teutonic as Hungarian, with their unchristian and before never exalted godless life, so they committed themselves with plundering, robbing, burning and murdering-, the defeat was devastating, the revenge of the regent rigorous.

Not only were those involved banished and deprived of their possessions, but all the ringleaders who were caught were executed, most of them beheaded, some hanged, quartered, strangled, and occasionally one, such as Doctor Jan Jessenius, rector of the Prague Academy, first pulled out his tongue with a little tong, cut it off and then beheaded him", as it says in a pamphlet, the "Prägerische Execution", which also reports that such executions were viewed by men with the greatest pity and Christian compassion. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for the **victims,** for example Doctor]essenius again, to suffer and endure the execution "with great patience and constancy, with previous - - when he still had the tongue - - heartfelt invocation of God." In this respect, it seems that sometimes everything went harmoniously and beautifully, even in mass executions (cf. p. 3da). "

The emperor, under whom such things happened, was also a man of the heart.

good man, "benevolent towards everyone - especially towards Jesuits, his confessors, and Capuchins, who played a considerable role in his environment, not least for his conscience.

reassurance. For example, when the sentences of the special court arrived from Prague at the end of May, against which there was no appeal but which Ferdinand was obliged to sign, h e is said to have fled from the council table to his chambers, his forehead covered i n fear. But the next morning, after questioning his "confessor", he calmly and cold-bloodedly signed several dozen death sentences and ordered their immediate execution.

After all, the confessor knew how to deal with questions of knowledge better than anyone else. After all, in addition to the killing of so-called game, especially in addition to hunting - Ferdinand had a large number of master hunters, huntsmen, hounds and hunters for his immediate needs, went hunting three or four times a week and, according to a high ecclesiastical diplomat, put this aside - neither about work nor about important business - - yes, in addition to noble hunting, the noble church was one of his "main passions": Wedgwood; the fight for the Catholica was his "most important ruling duty": Press; it took the -first place" in his politics: Albrecht. (Just as Empress Eleonore, in terms of religion and fear of God 'quite like her consort', had a -great affection for the Jesuits-, her confessors, of course, no less for Capuchins and unshod Carmelites}.

-His piety and religious zeal can be seen in his not speak enough - the papal nuncio in Vienna, Carlo Carafa, praises the monarch, whose relatives Leopold and Charles were both bishops, Leopold in Passau and Strasbourg, Charles in Wroclaw. According to Nuncio, the ruler confessed and communicated on all feast days. Every day he hears {-which he never leaves") in his chapel for two masses. On some days he does not seem to leave the church at all, after the two early masses he listens to the German sermon of a Jesuit, usually for an hour, then attends another hour and a half of high mass and in the afternoon he also listens to the Italian sermon of a minorite, followed by vespers. "liber of all this goes the day, sometimes still part of the night there*'

But that's not all. During the forty days of Lent, Emperor Ferdinand listens to the sermon three times a day. On other days, he accompanied the processions - on foot and with his head uncovered, regardless of the weather - as heroically as the Pope on occasion. And when he had moral doubts, he approached the confessor with full confidence that he would not be misled by his keen insight, great knowledge and rich experience". At the same time, Father Viller "of his own memory" - in good Jesuit fashion - had accustomed him "to refer to his councils in every matter in order to avoid all scruples of conscience." Thus he shows all

As Nuncio Carafa explains, -how to do justice to the precepts of the holy church-, many barons and rulers, moved only by example, will abandon the erroneous belief. Conclusion: - In truth he may be called a holy prince ... -

Maximum mercy and Christian compassion also made the holy prince's punishment cradle possible. After all, Doctor Jessenius, who had been misplaced several times, was "quartered" and put on display in the streets {whereby he was treated in the same way as a suicide, such as the Procurator Frühwein, a Bohemian co-director who had thrown himself to his death from the dungeon in Prague's White Tower). The executioner cut off Jessenius' right hand and head, cut him into quarters, and then the quarters were pinned up in four places and the hand and head were nailed to the old courthouse in the New Town on the RoQmackt.

It may sound a little iridescent, but probably only for our up-and-coming

The contemporary Franz Christoph Graf von Khevenhüller, on the other hand, concluded his detailed report on the Prague blood court, on all the heads and hands stapled and pinned to "iron rods" and elsewhere.

{twelve heads and the right hand of Count Schlick adorned the Charles Bridge for at least a decade) yet quite cheerfully harmonious, in the best sense aristocratic: -"Half an hour before the beginning of the execution, a beautiful rainstorm stood on the Lorenz Hill for an hour, it rained a little before it passed, otherwise the whole day was beautiful."

Like the whole story.

In addition to heads and hands, there were many and particularly perfidiously enforced condemnations of goods and fines, which led to violent redistributions of property, not least in favor of the emperor, who even punished the already deceased rioters, to condemn and condemn them from the "memory altogether and of each in particular for eternal times - ordered, in addition of course also - to confiscate and confiscate their goods¡ traveling and lying, Your Imperial Majesty Fisco to good as soon as possible .. .-

All in all, about half of the aristocratic estates were expropriated and 68o people were condemned in Bohemia alone, whereby -The most trivial occasions sufficed" (Schormann). In Moravia, more than three hundred lords of the manor lost part or all of their property. In the lands of the Bohemian crown, fear and poverty spread. Trade shrank horrendously, foreign trade ceased completely, the currency collapsed and food prices rose twelvefold. While the population starved, a few profited more and more. Karl von Liechtenstein, the emperor's representative and governor of Prague, now became one of the richest men in Europe. But one of the most developed trading states fell
"in little more than two years back two centuries ... and the way was clear for despotism" {Wedgwood).

Not least the despotism of faith.

The destruction of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility and the destruction of the corporative structures also marked the beginning of re-Catholicization.

Emperor Ferdinand had therefore consulted clerics soon after the Battle of the White Mountain - especially Jesuits". And on i a. On April i 6zi, the Pope had sent him more precise instructions, letting him know that the old religion now had to be re-established in the Kingdom of Bohemia, that heresy had to be driven out by force, that Lutherans, Pikards, recusants and Calvinists were to be driven out; and the means to achieve such progress, namely the restoration of the Catholic religion in its full purity, it was said: "Foundation of a Catholic university in Prague, reinstatement of Catholic priests and school teachers,

Prohibition of heretical books and distribution of good books, especially the Catholic Catechism, promotion of Catholic booksellers and printers, but prohibition of heretical books, promotion of the missions of the Jesuits and other religious orders, visitations by the bishops ... - etc.

The KaiSer responded on June 3, i 6s i - -to merrie requests, as Carafa, - representative of a principle that knows no consideration- {Ranke), modestly and proudly noted - by an alderman who fights "heretics", sectarians, the disseminators of Calvin's errors, as well as political rebellion, such as "treason in the chairs" or the non-recognition of the emperor in Bohemia, but who, in the usual hypocrisy, tries to create the impression that it is not the profession of religion that is being punished, but treason.

But then the churches were taken away from the new believers, even gravestones were removed, Lutheran preachers and Lutheran teachers were expelled and Catholic pastors were appointed or, in the absence of such, Franciscans, Capuchins, Augustinians and Carmelites were brought in. The Jesuits were given the country schools as well as the University of Prague and new colleges were established, and the entire educational system was placed under the control of the Church. Troops were deployed against burghers and peasants who wanted to keep the laic chapel.

The religious persecution caused mass emigration. i 5o ooo Protestants emigrated, especially to Saxony and Silesia. And the victory of the imperial popes in the battle for the Bohemian crown near Prague established Catholic dominance in the empire for a decade, until the Battle of Breitenfeld; indeed, the defeat of Czech nationalism until i q i 8. And r i g h t into the i 8th century, non-Catholic confession was punished with death.

The disaster at White Mountain, the first major, albeit relatively short, field battle of the century, ended the Bohemian Revolution, but not the Bohemian War.

Although King Frederick had met the Eight in January i6xi and the Union dissolved the following May, the defeated king did not lose faith in his cause. Instead, he joined forces with the Dutch in the spring of xSet in order to regain his territories on the Rhine. And some mercenary leaders also continued the defense of the Palatinate, which changed denominations nine times between i 5ş6 and i68y: Ernst von Mansfeld, one of the most unscrupulous military men of his time, on whose head was a price of dmihundred thousand thalers; Margrave Ge- org Friedrich von Baden-Durlach, a devout Calvinist who claims to have read the Bible through §8 ma1 in his life; and Duke Christian von ßraunschweig, who had become bishop {admin- strator) of the former diocese of Halberstadt at the age of eighteen.

However, the Bohemian War then spread to the Empire and foreign troops, a particular source of unrest here, marched into Germany. And when the armies of the League under Tilly and the Spaniards under Gonzalo Fernandez de Córdoba ended the war for the time being by advancing on the Margrave of Baden and the Halberstàdt s';Îtlugen urid on both sides of the Rhine into the Lower Palatinate, the **war** continued.

Indeed, the once internal Habsburg dispute became not only an imperial affair, but a European conflict. For as the allies of the overthrown Winter King, Ernst von Mansfeld and Christian von Halberstadt, moved to northern Germany, the battlefields also s h i f t e d to the 1 forden, the King of **Denmark,** also Duke of Holstein, Christian IV (r 588-i 6ą8), a self-confident and resolutely Lutheran man who spoke and wrote fluent German, also became involved. As the holder of the bishopric of Verden, he was keen on further secularized bishoprics and in December i6a5 he allied himself with a number of northern German imperial estates, with the

Republic of the United Netherlands and England against the Emperor. And England and the States General also cooperated with the French minister in charge, the bishop and later Cardinal Richeĺieu, against Habsburg.*-

However, the war took on completely different dimensions. **First,** on•7 *rİl £6zz* Maiisfeld defeated Tilly near the village of Mingolsheim. Then, on May 6, Tilly defeated the army of all ranks. tThe no longer young margrave had only ceded his little country to his son the month before in order to devote himself exclusively to the war and, of course, to the Protestant cause). The latter received a new blow from Tilly on June zo. June in the battle for the bridgehead of Höchst. Christian von Braunschweig, the
-The bishop of Halberstadt, the "Peacock Eater", spent two thousand men on the crossing of the Main, according to other accounts even half of his troops and a large part of his retinue.

On iq. September, another triumph for the Catholics, they conquered the German Reformed center after, as a contemporary r e p o r t e d , "General Tilly continued firing on the city of Heidelberg and its fortifications from all batteries without ceasing throughout the day and then, towards evening, had a general assault carried out on all edges and entrenchments with many too many leaders and constant refreshment and protection of the storming forces for z hours; until finally the exhausted besiegers were partly slain, partly chased away, the suburb was set on fire in various places, and the old town was left to the mob of soldiers,
• There was then a miserable outcry through massacring, plundering and money-grubbing with thumbling, gagging, beating, tormenting, nail-drilling, singeing of domestic orphans, burning and burning of foxes, with the defilement and abduction of women and virgins, since at the same time the riots in the suburbs got terribly out of hand and the rich hospital, called the Pre- diger Kĺoster, was also seized, and this plundering continued until the third day.--'-

Next year, on August 6, i6z3, on a Sunday, the feast of

of the Transfiguration of Christ, Christian of Brunswick lost against Tilly at Stadtlohn in Münster, already close to the protective Dutch border, squeezed between forest, swamp and water, ten thousand soldiers, four thousand by imprisonment, six thousand by death, by -a miserable massacre and slaughter-, as a Bavarian eyewitness reports. But Tilly hoped "because of this God-given victory" that "the enemies of the Catholic Church ... with their forces would soon no longer be able to recover and resist . .. -

-Rejoice, Virgin Mafia, you alone have conquered all heretics-
The Capuchin Giacinto da **Casale,** who worked as a preacher and diplomat in Italy and Germany, rejoiced after the victory and the slaughter of so many thousands. "Oh my God, how great and wonderful you are". The Father, a native of Count Federigo Natta, urged the continuation of the war, its extension to northern Germany, but without, said the Bavarian councillor Jocher, taking care of the human means required in addition to the miraculis. Even the Bavarian Duke Maximilian warned the Father, who was very much in his favor, against endless war - whereby the noble knight was less bothered by the bloodshed for which his peers were educated, especially for the bloodshed for the sake of faith and the Good News, than by the horrendous expenditure of money. For the imperial army, costs of i x8 ooo guilders per month were assumed, after which these funds, otherwise hardly understandable,
"Roman Months - hieBen.

However, it was precisely the war that was least shunned in authoritative spiritual circles; certainly not in Rome, where under the new **pope** the cooperation of the Curia with Maximilian, regardless of some confessional political differences, reached its peak.
"Höhepunkt- reached (Handbook of Bavarian History).-*

P PST GRECOe XV. (I6zI-IÕ*3)-
"ÉURCHT Uxn LIEBE GO7'
TES
UN D STETE KRIEGSTREI BEREI

Gregory XV, the son of Count Pompeo Ludovisi and the first pope to be educated by Jesuits at the CoÍlegium Romanum, was already old and crusty. So he soon made his twenty-five-year-old nephew Ludovico Ludovisi the head of business, just as his uncle was a Jesuit offspring from the Collegium Roma- num and now their gonner, "e fear and love of God," Gregory advised his nephew, "be your political wisdom!" and, as usual, favored his relatives excessively.

The pope's brother, Orazio Ludovisi, immediately became General of the Church, as which he entered Valtellina in May at the head of papal troops, a troubled region full of "howls of murder and atrocities". Atrocities", where in the summer of i6zo, under the leadership of a Capuchin, the massacre of Tirano took place; a kind of "Bartholomew's power in miniature" (Kretschmayr), the abolition of all the prorestant inhabitants of the town and the whole valley - with the blessed pilgrimage church of Maria di Tirano.

Orazio's still very young son Niccoló was given the title of castellan of Castel Sant'Angelo and governor of the Borgo, while Gregory elevated his brother's eldest son to cardinal just one day after his own coronation and made him secretary of state. He showered his nephew with offices, dignities and lucrative benefices, including the Archbishopric of Bologna and very rich abbeys, an enormous, steadily growing income, for which the cardinal bought the Duchy of Zagarolo - one of two duchies, which the successor of poor Jesus gave to his own for over a million gold scudi, along with four other principalities through skillful marriages and "political wisdom"...

In any case, both lords had enough money not only to continue paying the subsidies granted to the emperor by the papal predecessor, but even to double them plus a one-off

additional high contribution tax. The League also received huge sums (Kelly). Gregory even tried to raise money for the war in Germany from the Spanish clergy, "the richest in the world". The Handbook of Church History speaks of

around i a3g ooo guilders of good coin and 7 O oOO guilders of bad coin (devalued by inflation) in just under a H years to "enable the Emperor and the League to take advantage of the victory".

"You serve the Lord of Hosts, who is mighty in battle," the Holy Father encouraged the Bavarian duke. -You shall not have invoked the Pope's help in vain." Gregory even wished to recruit his own soldiers for part of his financial contributions and to place them in the Emperor's army under the command of a cardinal. Indeed, he attached great importance to the fact that the papal banner should also be unfurled in the battle for the Catholic cause. And the Holy See followed the eradication of Protestantism in Bohemia, the defeat of the Calvinist monarchy, with rejoicing and enthusiasm, and welcomed the occupation of the two Palatinates, the Upper Palatinate and the Rhine Palatinate or Lower Palatinate, both hereditary lands of Frederick."

The Pope also did everything he could to transfer the cure to Maximi-

lian. For this warded off the danger of a Protestant emperor and meant a Catholic majority in the electoral college of the empire. The pope set whole chains of couriers, reports, audiences, recommendations, praise letters, manuscripts and memoranda in motion, secular ambassadors and princely confessors were called upon, Gregory worked tirelessly, mobilizing Carafa in particular, but also a special envoy, the Capuchin Giacinto da Casale. And of course no one appreciated this more than the ambitious Bavarian himself, who, after fulfilling his most ardent desire, wrote to the Pope that he had not only promoted the conferral of the electoral dignity, but had acquired it.

In return, however, the Holy Father now had an extremely valuable piece of war booty dedicated to him, the Bibliotheca Palatina, which was highly coveted in Rome and had fallen to Maximilian with the conquest of Heidelberg, and which the Pope expressly requested to be returned.

Previously used to fight the Catholics, it was now to be used to fight the Protestants.

Further thefts were added to the precious loot. The -famous- Leone Allacci, doctor of theology and scriptor at the Vaticana, carried out this task, as von Pastor puts it, -with as much zeal as prudence-. He also took "whatever other manuscripts he could find", both from the Palatine prince's private library in the palace and from the Heidelberg University Library and the Sapienzkolleg, and managed to get hold of everything, books, books, books, books, books, books.

and 354s manuscripts, i-*9!* boxes on yo wagon well overgrown by Bavarian musketeers (there would have been robbers coming to his master in Rome. There, he - it was by now Urban VIII - not only ensured that the manuscripts were displayed in a dignified manner, but also, one of his first instructions, issued an edict to protect all the manuscripts and also instructed the custodians to keep a close eye on visitors to the library.

In an effusive letter dated i 5. October r6zz, Gregory thanked the Duke of Bavaria after the conquest of the Palatinate capital for the promised enrichment of the Vatican, for the "gift so welcome to the Holy Roman Church and so rich in glory for the Bavarian name" and praised Maximilian for having "wrested the two-edged sword from the nefarious hands of the heretics", because he -wrested from the nefarious hands of the heretics the double-edged swords", -which those, the fathers of lies and connoisseurs of reprehensible doctrines, draw without a decree to deny the truths of salvation", who had hitherto been in Heidelberg.

•were used to attack the godlessness of the heretics", but are now used in Rome -in defense of the holy Catholic faith ...-"

Pope Gregory, to remind us here - as in the entire Church throughout the centuries since the beginning - was dominated by the worst kind of black-and-white imagery, which continuously stultified the peoples: on the one hand, only "falsehood, devilish lies", "lies and crime", "the prince of darkness", "the godlessness of the heretics"; they are "faithless",

-treu1os", -rebels-, "the brigands of the Roman Empire", the "most atrocious sacrileges" etc. etc. On the other hand, notwithstanding some internal criticism, the "defeat of Ket- cism", the -victorious legions-, "the victories of the Duke of Bavaria and his virtues", -such a shining judgment", the
"Triumph of Christ", "the weapons of light", "heavenly man", the Catholic religion "in its full purity" etc. etc.

The Count Palatine is portrayed by the pope as a "robber chief" who brings "ruin and destruction" to blofi, who does not deserve restitution, but rather the dungeon and the scaffold. -But our helper and warlord is God, the mighty one in battles, whose wrath no one is able to resist, whom the whole heavenly army of war serves.

In those early years of the Thirty Years' War, no one urged an attack like the Holy Father in Rome¡ - no one warned against a standstill of the weapons!

Gregory, whose devotion to the saints and general piety is emphasized by Pastor, had only been pope for a few weeks when he called secular and spiritual princes in Germany to battle. Through Carafa, he also urged the emperor to continue his victories and to act quickly, warning him not to jeopardize everything by procrastinating. His entire activity, he wrote to Carafa, must be "directed towards the one goal of deriving as great an advantage as possible from the happy turn of events, from the more victorious situation of things" - that means: new victories, new campaigns, new destruction.

To support the nuncio, Gregory sent the Capuchin Giacinto da Casale and three secretaries, who were also Capuchins, to the Viennese court in early summer. Together, they were to promote the Pope's offensive wishes and spur the Emperor on to the total defeat of the Count Palatine, supposedly the greatest of all enemies of the Church. The nuncios in Madrid and Brussels also had to work towards the complete destruction of the Palatine. Indeed, Gregory himself wrote to the Spanish King Philip IV, asking whether there was no need to fear "angering the Lord God" if one

the victories so barbarously bestowed on the emperor, as long as there was time; which the Spanish nuncio had to underpin by insistent explanations.-°

The high priest reminded the emperor of all things on the Feast of Peace, a -s December i 6zi, in two imploring breves of all the money, of so much for the common good.

blood sacrificed for the sake of (!) - Catholic blood". And one should m a k e peace with a fugitive "robber chief"? It would be the bitterest of all bitternesses for the Church. - On the other hand, Holiness advised not to rest until the Pfülzer, -that robber chief- and his men, - had been rendered completely harmless.- And when the next summer, within a few weeks, three state armies of his adversaries, almost 5o,000 men, had been destroyed, it did not seem to the frail old man, the "dying old man", as Ranke once put it, that it was time to stop killing. No, on the contrary! He saw in the victorious bloodshed a clear sign from Providence that a decision had to be sought not through negotiations but with weapons.

And Maximilian of Bavaria also urged, both during his campaign in the Upper Palatinate and in the Rhine Palatinate, not to rest until the complete defeat of the -Wiiiterköriig-; admonished not to allow himself to be hindered in the course of victory by negotiations. - Continue courageously, beloved son, whom the almighty God of vengeance has chosen to execute his wrath against his enemies". Thus on December 3, i 6z i. And warned Maximilian, as well as the emperor and the ecclesiastical electors, against peace debates. Continuation of the war was his slogan, as before, as now and for a year afterwards, until his death.

Gregory saw that the time was near for a great Catholic restoration and that the world was ripe for attack and expansion. So he created the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which m a d e the propagation of the faith the main task of the Pope's "pastoral office" {and the missionaries, after the earth had been divided into twelve provinces without further ado}.

The orders were often divided into provinces, provinciae ecclesiasticae, often more like merchants than messengers of the faith, with often vehement competition between the orders; whereby their "mission territories" included not only the evil heathen lands of distant continents, but also the so to speak Protestant-infested Europe).

Finally, the Pope also proved himself to be progressive by canonizing the two Jesuit founders, St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Francis Xavier, and by his witchcraft decree of zo. MafZ i 6Z3. And if Innocent VIII's writing "Summis desiderantes affec- tibus" of blessed memory, the so-called Bull on Witches, had once so commendably brought the diabolical phenomenon to the attention of the educated world (VIII q. chapter!) and legalized the pogroms with great effort, Gregory XV now gave the persecution of witches a new and frightening impetus (Catholic Kühner).

FROM THE "LUST 2UNI WARS- OR: "THEY SPARE NO ONE WHO HE ALSO BE .....'

Meanwhile, the war continued.

In the well-to-do dioceses of Münster and Paderborn, Christian von Halberstadt raged through robbery, extorted vast sums of money from the population with the most devious tricks and also systematically took gold and silver works from churches and monasteries, along with other top achievements; he also did not hesitate to mint coins from the silver shrine of St. Liborius, the patron saint of Paderborn, with the provocative slogan "God's friend, the clergy's enemy". At least Bishop Christian was discreet enough to only melt down the relic shrines of the saints as far as possible, but to return their bones intact. After all, he was not interested in bones, not even the most sacred ones, but in lucrative raids, attacks, assaults, and war in general, of which he once wrote to the - High-born Princess, gracious, most beloved Lady Mother -, -that I desire war

I have, I must confess ... I will also have until my end'

Duke Christian was surpassed in his adventurousness and lack of principle by another Protestant mercenary leader, a particularly ruthless warhorse, Count Ernst IL von Mansfeld.

Coming from Italy, where he was "brought up in the orthodox faith, h e believed as little in the Catholic cause as he did in the Protestant, and was as free-spirited as he was changeable, and generally very unstable. He fought early on, even as a child, with the emperors against the Turks, with the Protestants against the emperors. He fought against the Spanish and repeatedly tried to enter their service. His dealings with the emperor were no different. He separated himself from King Frederick, the defeated king, and concluded a new agreement with him when he seemed to be on the mend. He also negotiated several treaties with France and offered his soldiers to Savoy, Venice and the United Netherlands. Blackmail and bribery were not uncommon; haggling over sums due on his withdrawal from previous employers or theaters of war was almost common.

The Catholics, of course, moral as they are, did not like him so m u c h that one fine day in Munich Capuchin Giacinto announced "two soldiers of reputation and determination" who were prepared to assassinate Mansfeld if Duke Maximilian took i oooo scudi from the league treasury, as the Kurma Indian chancellor had suggested.

Mansfeld defeated Tilly and was defeated by Wallenstein. He lost men and had to recruit new men, legally or not. He not only bought his entry into the war, but also seir

• His campaigns were mostly raids, like so many campaigns, if not almost all, at least indirectly, to this day!

And it was not only the warriors who b e l o n g e d to his army, but also women, troop boys, servants and they were by far the majority. It w a s estimated that there was at least one woman and one troQbu for every soldier. In Tilly's battle

A lieutenant had about five servants, a colonel up to eighteen. In the army of Imperial General Bucquoy, and similarly in Mansfeld's, a child was born almost every day. In addition, there were piles of cures, quacks, healers, charlatans, swindlers, with the biggest crooks, the official ones, the noblest ones, usually standing at the top, or perhaps more correctly: behind them.

All of this now had to be more or less fed, endured, somehow made ends meet or killed, while their own or allied ethnic groups were often sucked dry just as much as enemy groups, in accordance with Mansfeld's principle: "War feeds war". The method was in general use, but Mansfeld's army was particularly notorious for it. Wherever he appeared, he left behind a plundered country, in the Upper Palatinate as well as in Hesse-Darmstadt or Bohemia.

The ElsaB, where dozens of villages were in flames, sank into ashes, was so desolate that the ghastly hordes could no longer feed themselves and had to move on to Lorraine. They carried famine and pestilence, brought epidemics to Franconia, the dioceses of Metz and Verdun, left typhus in Alsafi and thousands of dead in Strasbourg alone. According to an old source, the von Mansfe1d also held sway in the bishopric of Speyer,

"with plundering, robbing and burning over the Maafia evil house.

Likewise in East Frisia, the beautiful, rich region, and also in the neighboring countries; everything was "always ruined" wherever these troops went, so completely devastated and burned down that the damage was estimated at about ten million thalers - and almost four-fifths of the people had fled to the four winds.

Neither his soldiers nor his horses could live off the air, the count wrote. Weapons and clothing were also becoming obsolete and perishing. And if they were to make up for it, they would have to have money - and if no one gave it to them, they would take it wherever they found it, not as their due, but without weighing or counting it. .. They spare no one, whoever he may be, respect no place, no matter how holy, neither churches, altars, tombs and graves, nor the corpses in them." -'

tt. CHAPTER

WHAT THEY FOUGHT FOR IN THE THIRTY-YEAR WAR?

-The Saxons had p a i d f o r the battles at Breitenfeld with **a** loss o f almost a million people who had died from epidemics and hunger ... The Swedes had introduced the plague in Stettin and Spandau, in Durlach and Würzburg and throughout Württemberg ... Rabid dogs attacked their masters, and the authorities set up marksmen to shoot down the infected victims before they could infect their fellow human beings ... The discipline of the Swedish troops had collapsed with the growth of the army5 ... apart from the poor discipline, the king plundered as no one had plundered before in this war, since he did it in a pianistic way to cover the aid sources of his enemies."

C. V. Wcdgwood'

-The land between Mainz and Frankfurt was deserted. You passed through a village that h a d allegedly been plundered eighteen times within two years, and you were camped in fields of rubble, with not a soul far and wide ...

The imperial **army,** which **moved** i Sy y through the territory of the **allied** Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, caused a loss of joooo horses, i ooooo cows and aononn shells ...

Württemberg, ravaged by imperial troops between i6j4 and i Sj8, lost more than three quarters of its population during this period {von Hippel). The devastation of large parts of Germany began first in 63, when the war left all regular channels.

Georg Schmidt-

"It should be noted right away, however, that the *differences between* the *confessions were* not the actual agent of this so-called 'age of the Civil Wars', but rather that, conversely, the interests based on political power determined the differences between the confessions.

or the states **used** the confessional difference as an emergency anchor **in order to** justify a claim to support from confessional relatives and to obtain it for themselves. -
Handbook of European History'

-Betklcn Gabor says: he does not seek justice, but domination. Auholt says: he seeks money, as do the other colonels and captains, and there is a certain honesty in that. But conscience also wants to be satisfied and that's why religion is pushed aside."
A Lutheran nobleman from Bohemia*

Dze Dxsiscii-NIEDERSECHSISCHE KRIEG (USQ-I6z9) UNn nes RESTITuTiONSEDf KT (1629)

The Bohemian-Palatinate War was followed by the Danish-Lower Saxon War in the second half of the i6zos.

In December i Sz§ Denmark, England, the Netherlands and some imperial estates had j o i n e d f o r c e s i n the Hague Alliance (p. 3z 5 f.). Everywhere there was armament and recruitment, and "the warfare on the papal side was continued with all its might", and under Tilly and Wallenstein the imperial armies of the League advanced to the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas amid growing opposition from their leaders. They occupied Brandenburg, Prussia, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Schleswig, Jutland, not forgetting, according to a contemporary, "now and then ... . to sing the Te Deum laudamus . .. - Only the key port of the Baltic Sea, the strategically important Stralsund, whose churches were even bombarded, remained undefeated despite constant storm attacks, as the Danes and Swedes supplied the fortress from the sea "with people and plenty of munitions of war", but the besiegers were without ships.

On zy. April i SaS, Wallenstein severely defeated Count Mansfeld at the Elbe bridge near Dessau. Mansfeld lost several thousand men, a third of his army, mostly victims of murderous artillery, and died himself three months later somewhere on the way south, perhaps to Venice or the Dalmatian coast, suffering from lung disease and pursued as far as Hungary. The Wallcnsteinians, however, lived in Silesia - "worse than the enemy". Is - not enough -, complains a contemporary witness, "that they were

food, drink and money, but a l s o plunder what they find ... -; in short, they do, it is further reported, -the friend more harm than the enemy-, who nevertheless reports from Moravian-Weifi- kirchen, for example, -we marched in and killed men, women and children ..."

On*7 August i6k6, Tilly decisively defeated the Danish King Chris- an IV at Luyer am Barenberg {near today's Salzgitter). The number of Danes killed was estimated, probably with the usual exaggeration, at 6ooo, and in the Peace of Lübeck, i 6z9, the king was forced to surrender in exchange for retaining his original
He had to give up his possessions, his alliance with North German princes as well as his Lower Saxon diocesesq and had to renounce any interference in German affairs, which eliminated him as a war opponent.

Emperor Ferdinand abet, driven by the Catholics to ever more radical steps (Press), decrees an edict of restitution in the same year on March 6, i6xq, urged above all by Rome and his patron saint Guglielmo Larnormaini SJ, the actual originator.

This edict, which denied the Calvinists any legal right to exist from the outset, simply ordered the German situation to be reduced to the status quo of i 5 y z¡ thus insisted on the return of the archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg, on the return of a further twelve bishoprics as well as those of over yoo monasteries and foundations, especially in Swabia, Franconia and Lower Saxony.

The implementation of the decree, which was to be enforced by imperial commissioners using military force, would of course have been tantamount to a revolution, as the church estates, these enormous secularized possessions, whose return the emperor had always wanted and now offered at the height of his power, were the holy of holies on both sides. The Duchy of WüMemberg, for example, would have had to restitute Ib monasteries and 36 nunneries. But it was simply too beautiful, it was just too sovereign to enrich and expand in this way and to provide for the descendants in an appropriate manner.

Here and there, however, the ordinance was enforced,

according to an old source, -occupied with force and war power, abolished the Protestant preachers and appointed papal priests and clergymen in their place and forced the people to apostasy or exodus and in some places to leave all their belongings behind ... At the same time, the heavy quartering of the people of war, the courage of the soldiers, marches, Musterplätz, conflicts and the like did not increase the hardships of the Protestants.- For example, in the Swabian and Franconian districts, in the diocese of Halberstadt, in Magdeburg, Strafiburg or Augsburg, where the practice of the Protestant faith was completely forbidden, several Protestant churches were razed and eight thousand people were sent into exile, including the old Elias Holl, the famous ßaumeister of the arsenal, town hall and Perlachturm.

However, the Edict of Restitution also increased the quarrel between the Emperor and Maximilian, because each wanted to use this "legal basis" to increase his influence. It led to a bitter dispute between the monks, the Benedictines, Cistercians, Jesuits etc. over the coveted spoils, namely: aEhe die Kirchengüter nur noch zurestgegeben waren ... - (Ranke). In general, the edict exacerbated the antagonisms, actually favored the unification of the Protestants, thus completely failed to achieve its purpose, was suspended in i635 and declared invalid in i6q8 *lozmcll*.

ALL THE BEST IN TERMS OF THE ARENA

Around i6aq, Ferdinand's reign in the empire culminated; indeed, he was now more powerful in northern Germany than any other emperor for hundreds of years. He owed this to no one more than his most outstanding general and one of the most controversial figures in German history.

Albrecht von Wallenstein (or Waldstein), born in the Bohemian town of Hermanitz in 1983 as the son of a Protestant landowner, converted to Catholicism two years after entering imperial service.

He acquired great wealth in Moravia and multiplied it after the suppression of the Bohemian rebellion by acquiring more than half a hundred additional estates. I n time, he ruled over a quarter of Bohemia and several hundred vassals.

Wallenstein also lived personally like a great imperial prince. At his court iii Halberstadt, for example, according to the Saxon councilor Lebzelter in September i Szq, he kept many hundreds of horses. His high and low officials also kept heaps of them. There was a captain of the Life G u a r d s with i i o horses, and there were young officers with just as many horses. There were chamberlains, noblemen, cupbearers, tailors, court servants with the rank of ensign and servants of all kinds, also apothecaries, chamber heaters, chamber furriers, fifteen cooks and silver masters, twelve musicians etc., not least four Jesuit priests".

Wallenstein, increasingly melancholy and withdrawn, self-consciously arrogant, was greedy and power-hungry like most of his contemporaries, unpopular, unscrupulous, subject to fits of rage and conspicuously abstemious towards women. i6 i y, on the occasion of his second marriage to the daughter of one of the emperor's closest advisors, he was raised to the rank of count, i6a3 to the rank of count palatine and prince, i 6a5 he became commander-in-chief of the imperial army and duke of Priedland. I*7 he is
the Dukedom of Sagan, and i6zg, after the Peace of Lübeck with Denmark, he, the Bohemian of non-princely blood, receives, to the great indignation of many, a German imperial princedom, the territories of the rather arbitrarily deposed and ostracized dukes of Mecklenburg, together with all the titles and rights associated with them, as imperial fiefdoms. -The duke is so powerful," wrote a Spanish diplomat to his king, "that one must almost be grateful to him when he makes friends with a country like Mecklenburg ... The Emperor, in his kindness, despite all warnings, has given the Duke such power that it must fill one with concern." "He is the sole lord," the envoy announces succinctly, - leaving the Emperor with little more than the title.

The rapidly growing abundance of power, the rise of a low

The fact that he became the ruling prince of Bohemia aroused the fear, favor and envy of the other German potentates, especially Maximilian of Bavaria.

Early personal animosities aside, there were tensions between the two men at least since Wallenstein's appointment as imperial commander, tensions of a purely power-political nature. And the more rapid the career of the instigator, the greater his potential for violence (and that of the emperor), the greater the aversion of Maximilian and his co-inbatants. They feared Wallenstein as an opponent, as an enemy of the princes, as it was widely said, almost a common saying, that he wanted to teach the electors mores, that they wanted to depend on the emperor, that the emperor depended on them, that the emperor's son deserved to succeed him in the empire and did not need to be elected.

There were suspicions of an emphatically absolutist understanding of the state coupled with rigorous Catholicism, fears that the prince's power would be broken, that the empire would be subjugated under Ferdinand, which his generalissimo would make, if not independent, at least increasingly independent, which was neither in the interests of Bavaria nor of his fellow fighters. Rumors and suspicions filled the air and aroused fears. A secret report by the Capuchin Valeiiano Magni, a creature from Wallenstein's immediate surroundings and one of his most dangerous enemies, had a strong effect; just as he was also gradually falling out with the clergy.

Wallenstein had offered the Emperor the formation of troops at his own expense, fifty thousand men; and even though the cautious monarch only allowed a contingent of twenty thousand for the time being and left Maximilian in charge of the military command, he increasingly accepted Wallenstein's support and soon e x t e n d e d his military powers from the Habsburg lands to the entire empire, but thus came under increasing pressure.

de ßedrängnis, xumal into financial dependence. As early as 1617 , when the commander had almost ooo warriors at his disposal, the ruler owed him half a million guilders for army expenses.

Ferdinand was understandably pleased with his constant expansion of power, but expanded in a way that was less to his liking.

fell, always Wallenstein's power as well, and both again displeased the Catholic lords who were fighting for their prerogatives.

As early as the beginning of i 6'7, the three ecclesiastical electors took up arms against the expansion of the Imperial-Wallenstein army and the growing pressure of contributions on their lands, the coercion to pay various kinds of compulsory levies, the system of taxation that played an increasing role in the Three Years' War, which allowed the warring powers to wage war for years even with small war coffers, especially as it offered the possibility not only of increasing the contributions but also of increasing the contribution rates.

areas. Thus Wallenstein was able to explain to the Emperor i *7. "ls, who had once again made a pilgrimage to Mariazell in Styria, one of his favorite pilgrimage sites, that he would use the means of the defeated countries to

to be able to fight for another six years without taking a cruiser from the government.

In the spring of i 6a8, Ferdinand was accused of striving for hereditary monarchy and wanting to destroy the so-called imperial liberties, the power of the princes. Maximilian, who was more eager for growing imperial supremacy than anyone else and whose policy also included temporary changes of front, no longer considered the deployment of league troops against the Habsburg army out of the question. Under the influence of the Capuchins, especially Valeriano Magni, who had long pursued an alliance between Bavaria and France as a "counterweight", as he bluntly told the Bavarian army on January 8, i 6z3. Under such influence, the Bavarian initiated secret negotiations with France, which were also promoted by Pope Urban VIII, who was hostile to the Habsburgs and friendly to France but feigned neutrality. On 3O äi I63 i they led to an alliance with France in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which in the last article, reluctantly conceded by Richelieu, also promised to respect all of Bavaria's treaties with the Emperor and the Empire - Maximilian could even declare that he would live and die for the House of Austria.

to wo1len,-

A Baltic Sea plan is also being discussed.

The project went back to the Spanish government. Wallenstein took it over, but excluded the originators from the execution, who in turn would have preferred to use Wallenstein's army without Wallenstein. The emperor would probably have proceeded in a similar way if he had been able to pay for the army. As it was, however, he wanted Wallenstein to advance in the north, not only to gain power over the bishoprics there, but also beyond the borders of Holstein over Jutland and the Baltic region. A maritime policy was mooted, naval construction, war and trade navies were considered, a sixth imperial port of war was sought, trade companies and large-scale trade wars were considered, and Wallenstein, who was increasingly gaining a foothold in those skies, soon bore the high-sounding title of General of the Oceanic and Baltic Seas. Shouldn't he now have wished not only to be the commanding general, but also the master and ruler of what he had conquered?

As long as Wallenstein was useful to the emperor, he naturally agreed to any expansion of power. And as long as he held the field, the Pope was also full of praise for him. -This victory, the first of the new war," Urban VIII acclaimed the military after his conquest of Prague in May i 63a, "is a sign of complete triumph. We bless you, illustrious man, and We wish that under your leadership Germany may be freed from disaster and harm. You will triumph under the blessing of the Church, and Europe will confess that the power of such a great commander is the spear of the flashing sky." (It almost reads like certain letters of congratulations from the high clergy to Hitler - as long as he was victorious! Cf. for example Opus Diaboli i *6z* ff. The Politics of the Popes in the zo. Century II, 5¢ff., 8 3 . 3)

But Wallenstein had many enemies, in the government, in the war rare in the camps. And the complaints, especially from the electors, became more frequent. He found himself in the twilight, perhaps not only due to fear and envy of suspicions. In the last years of his life, he earned an annual7•• ooo guilders from estates, mining, trade, minting and breweries, whereby at the time he received

the emperor owed at least one million guilders in unpaid troop pay alone, which, incidentally, was immediately forfeited when the general fell. People warned against Wallenstein's ambition, deprecated his extensive military powers, his moderate policy of seeking understanding with his enemies, in short, they tried ever more melu, ever more perlide5 to overthrow him. Admittedly, the emperor also expressed his displeasure at the actions of the Duke of Friedland ... But since he had rendered such valuable services for the benefit of Christendom, it was necessary to point out minor shortcomings - he should only show "more modesty and discretion".

However, the princes also pressed for the ruler's power to be curtailed, for his army to be reduced, for it to be united with the League and for any refusal of imperial aid to Spain. And just as the princes did not do this out of the noblest motives, but rather out of concern for the loss of money, privileges and prestige, Ferdinand was not only concerned about the problems of the empire, but at least as much about those of his house, its dynastic goals, for example in northern Italy and the Netherlands, not least the election of his son as his successor, which he had been pursuing since i 6z8.

Maximilian in particular was at times repeatedly opposed to the monarch, whose rabid religious edicts he nevertheless enforced no less rabidly. But even the Elector of Mair, probably inspired by the Bavarian, declared in a complaint to Ferdinand on behalf of all his colleagues that he could not guarantee the election of his son as successor as long as Wal- lenstein was commander-in-chief of the imperial armies.

But was there a controversial tendency towards a more or less limited despotic system - as if this had not already been the case {not for the princes, but for the vast majority of people otherwise) -, was there a tendency towards tyranny, an "imperial absolutism" or not: the emperor bowed to most of the demands of the electors, who met in Regensburg from the beginning of July until around mid-November 1630. He agreed to a significant reduction of his army as well as the unification of the remainder with the League troops under Tilly. And on August i 3, *i 65 o*, under pressure from

Lamormaini, he dismissed the Jesuits,

the Pope, Maxiinilian in particular, Wallenstein - and for all this he received next to nothing, especially not the consent to the election of his eldest son as Roman King. The Bavarian duke m a d e sure of this, as did the leading minister of France, Cardinal Richelieu, represented in Regensburg by his gray eminence, his confessor, the Capuchin priest Joseph (Francois le Clerc du Tremblay), a true virtuoso in all areas of political mendacity - although it should not be underestimated, that the cunning monk, who was to succeed Richelieu as President of the Council of Sraats in the event of his death, also received the cardinal's hat, had insights whose manifestation as such is at least surprising (more so than their content). For example, when the Father wrote to an abbess of the Order of Calvary, admittedly only in the last period of his life: "When I think like this and then look around me and see how I and most creatures live our lives, I come to believe that the world is just a fable and that we have all lost our minds - for, apart from a few exceptions, I see no difference between ourselves, the pagans and the Turks.

That very summer, when the electors met in Regensburg, Gustav Adolf, the King of Sweden, appeared on the German scene, causing a complete turnaround not only in military relations, but also completely changing the situation in the empire.

"T he XC HWEDEN PEOPLE ARE IN THE MARshMixes....."

MAGDEBURG AN D BROAD FIELD

Gustav 11 Adolf (x6r r-i63a) evidently planned to dominate the Baltic coasts and Baltic trade, intending to create a S w e d i s h empire in the Ossean region, to which he intended to incorporate the German duchies of Meck[enburg and Pomerania to secure his counter-coast.

Since he came to power, one and a half million Swedes and Finns are said to have enjoyed the smoothest, best-governed conditions in Europe. But there has also been war almost continuously since then. The king, who is said to have been in the "field" with the army at the age of six, had already conquered Russia at an early stage in his reign, taking over the territories of Ca- relia and Ingermanland, later conquering Riga, indeed the whole of Livonia and part of Prussia in the conflict with P o l a n d , and then concluding the Altmark truce with Poland. And in the same year, he was granted the funds for a three-year war in Germany by the Swedish Estates and also, on November 3, the unanimous approval of the Imperial Council for the invasion.

In the midsummer of 1630, the Swedes, io ooo hoofed soldiers, 3ooo horsemen, invaded Pomerania, praised by Napoleon as a strategic masterpiece. They advanced via Rügen, Usedom and Wollin to Stettin, the Pomeranian ducal city. In addition to creating an extensive base of operations, the king sought political alliances and German allies, but had less luck than expected. More by force than by necessity, he won over Pomerania and Brandenburg, while the Saxon Elector Johann Georg I, a Luthe- ranian, an unruly hunter, glutton and boozer, who changed sides more than once, but at least appointed Heinrich Schütz as court chapel master, joined him more or less voluntarily.

While the aggressor was almost haltingly advancing, Tilly had moved to the middle Elbe to stop the Protestants from penetrating further. At the end of December i 63o, he had issued a so-called letter of warning to the city of Magdeburg and called on the inhabitants to lay down their unnecessarily seized weapons, especially as they had not the slightest cause for some resistance. Should they fail to let this reminder stand, they will infallibly have to ensure their complete ruin and downfall, like all those who have resisted the emperor as their superior authority, who have been severely punished at all times by the righteous fate of the emperor, as this should be reflected by living examples,

enough will be brought to light." Even during the siege, Tilly made further similar threats to the city, which he conquered on zo. May i 63 i with its small Swedish garrison of zooo men, before Gustav Adolf was able to lay siege to it.

Magdeburg, the key fortress on the Elbe, was an important military base, of strategic importance, and also one of the richest cities in Germany; and the locals who were loyal to the invaders, or, as the first news item published about it in Vienna put it, "the non-Catholics who lived here", had become stubborn and daring ... young and old, man

and women* İa also the children of 7 and 8 years of age with stone throws and hot water, so this Viennese report claims, - the city itself at various

... set fire to many places ... - That is why "ours", i.e. the opponents of the "un-Catholics", were so enraged that they not only cut down the soldiers in it, but also most of the citizens and the common rabble and conquered the city of GottÍob. Praise God!

It is always astonishing what can be done in God's name, for which this God can be praised and glorified. For example, for what Otto von Guericke (inventor of the air pump), one of the city's later four civic ministers and its representative at the peace congress in Osriabrück, recorded:

• There was nothing but murder, burning, plundering, torturing and beating. In particular, every one of the enemies has asked for many and great spoils. Under such continuous fury, then and there this so glorious city, which was, as it were, a princess in the whole country, stood in full burning ardor and irt such Janimer and unspeakable distress and heartache, many thousands of innocent people, women and children were miserably murdered and wretchedly executed in many ways, so that it cannot be adequately described in words and mourned with tears.- And then, the eyewitness reports, "at to o'clock in the morning everything was on fire and at to o'clock that night the whole city, together with the beautiful town hall and all the churches and monasteries, was completely destroyed.

lig in the ashes and heaps of stones" - more than so ooo dead and wounded. Thus this far-famed, noble city and ornament of the whole country was seen to go up in fire and smoke in a single day and its remaining inhabitants with their wives and children were driven captive before the enemy ..."

Tilly soon had a solemn Te Deum sung in the midst of the ruins, the huge pile of fire and corpses, fired salutes and named the remains of the former Magdeburg after his patron saint Marienburg*.

The fall of the town caused an unusual sensation in the empire, ta in Europe, even if the incineration of an entire town was not so unusual at the time,

"all their best things were brought to the wagon and brought forward, guns, bullets, fuses and other things were sunk into the water, the city was set on fire, all the cabbage, drink, flour and other provisions were caught in smoke, so that the church and 5 houses in the city were no longer standing ...-

In the meantime, the Catholics had requested troops from Italy and the invaders had reinforced their small contingent of thirteen thousand warriors, mostly Swedes, Scots and Germans, with zo ooo Saxon soldiers; just as the Swedes, in the course of the battles, replenished their hemorrhaging armies (between i63 i and 1633 up to 6y per cent of their national stock) mainly with German soldiers, including many Bohemian exiles (to give a rather illustrative example, which was very popular during the Second World War).

to use the common expression). And in September 1 7 ¡ 63 i they collided near Breitenfeld, a village a few kilometers north of

The battle, in which Gustav Adolf and the united Swiss-Saxon armies almost wiped out the League under Tilly, during which the latter, himself wounded several times, lost thousands of his soldiers on the battlefield, but many were also killed by peasants who killed them on the run, is undoubtedly one of the greatest massacres of the Thirty Years' War. It cost Tilly twelve thousand dead and seven thousand wounded, who became soldiers the very next day.

Sweden. The supremacy of the Catholics and Imperialists in the north collapsed at a stroke, and Gustav Adolf's path opened up to southern Germany, to the Main and Rhine rivers, to the large ecclesiastical principalities, through the Pfaffengasse and as far as Bavaria, with all its more or less systematic devastation.

Nevertheless, the significance of the battle lies not only in the evident material results, its massive military and political consequences, but probably also in the meaning it acquired in people's minds, in their consciousness, in its moral impact.

It was the first great victory of the Protestants in the genocide on German soil, an event that suddenly turned the course of the war, suddenly surrounding the foreign king with the aura of the miraculous, of sheer invincibility. The Swedish invasion was seemingly unstoppable. At the same time, Austria and the papacy, the Catholics lost much of their terror for the Protestants, even though the worst times were just beginning in the next few years.

We cannot follow the external course, the direct military and diplomatic actions, as instructive as this would be: from the entry into Munich in mid-May i 63z accompanied by the
•Winter King - and of the death of many main figures within a very short time - from the fall of Tilly at the battle of Rain am Lech, Gustav Adolf at Lützen not far from Breitenfeld at the head of a regiment of bullet-riddled soldiers, Wallenstein in the night of the murder of Eger -, to the heavy defeat of the Swedes with i zooo dead at Nördlingen { i 63d), the Peace of Prague between Saxony and the Emperor (i S3 y), France's declaration of war on Spain, and the last, longest, most devastating phase with numerous massacres, various futile attempts at peace, up to the Peace of Westphalia.'*

Instead, it is more appropriate for our account to answer the question posed in the chapter, i.e.: Why were thirty years so bloody here? Why were so many people plunged into misery and death?

RxLIGION ONLY OVERWARD FOR WAR

The Three Years' War, as it was first referred to in a book title E 4 ¡* and then also at the peace negotiations i 64 8, was for a long time and is still widely regarded today as a religious war, especially in its beginnings. And in fact, it has already been prepared, almost summoned, by a much longer, century-long journalistic war, an unparalleled religious battle of dirt on all sides (q. chap.). This drooling religious dispute, which basically only continues the medieval fight against heretics, the demonization of all dissenters, whatever the cost, takes on ever more grotesque, wild and inactive forms over time, In its tremendous spitefulness, it affects all strata and areas of social life and finally leads to a death of nations, the God-related, denominational character of which is often emphasized by the leading heads who like to indulge in strong statements of faith.

Let's take a look at the man at the head of the empire. Ferdinand 11 was entirely in the religious tradition of the houses of Habsburg and Witrelsbach. His father, Archduke Charles of Inner Austria, was as thoroughly Catholic as his mother Ma- ria, the sister of Duke William V of Bavaria of Frornmen, whose court was described as a monastery and whose residential city as the German Rome {p. 1041- The future emperor, once a pupil of the Ingolstadt Jesuits, ultimately also had Jesuit confessors, Guglielmo Lamormaini, Balthasar Villery, Martin Beccanus, and was at the mercy of the "controllers" of his spiritual life in all matters of conscience, which of course often concerned political matters. But bishops, Georg Stobäus von Lavant, Martin Brenner von Seckau, were also among the monarch's closest advisors, who was devout to the point of bigotry, a homo religiosus who made pilgrimages, venerated the saints, especially Mary, who often spent half a day or more praying in church, who repeatedly affirmed that he would rather lose his country and people than knowingly neglect the opportunity to spread the teachings of the Catholic Church, preferring to hold the staff of the Betrel in one hand and his wife and child in the other.

He would rather suffer the most ignominious death than see the dishonor inflicted on God and the Church in his countries any longer".

Thousands upon thousands of masses were said for the sake of the war, huge numbers of clergymen and monks invoked the assistance of heaven during the blurge, the Jesuits and Capuchins in particular cheered on the fighting, the soldiers sang the "Salve Regina" before the battle and shouted "Sancta Maria" during the killing. The ruler himself had declared the Blessed Virgin to be the actual commander-in-chief of his armies; each victory confirmed to him how much the Most High was on his side, and so at the height of so many bloody triumphs he wanted to bring in the -gauze fruit of the *victories* God had bestowed on us so far."

On the one hand, his determined commitment to the Catholica, his religious principle, his strictness of faith, although deprived of many a political advantage, he had committed momentous blunders in the interest of confessional objectives, such as the Edict of Restitution, which he finally lamented bitterly: -First the Roman court had forced him to issue the Edict of Restitution and was now abandoning him in the war that ensued; the pope had thwarted the election of his son as Roman king; he was encouraging the Elector of Bavaria with advice and action to follow a separate policy of joining forces with France; he was forgiven for asking Urban for help, as previous popes had so often done with money or troops . .." On the other hand, of course, the Old Believer's conformity promoted the political, the Catholic reform supported the monarchical government, the resolute return to the Roman Church in Bohemia, Moravia and Lower Austria strengthened the closed Catholicization of the civil service, for example, as well as sovereign absolutism, and the system of the Counter-Reformation generally favoured the early absolutist currents without a doubt.

After the Battle o f Prague, the emperor broke the power of the estates in Bohemia and beyond, even taking away their right to vote for kings and decreeing the hereditary nature of the kingship in the Czech lands.

House of Austria. And of course he was not only concerned with Christian, ecclesiastical interests, confessionalization and the re-Catholicization of formerly ecclesiastical territories, but also with expanding his own position.

Just how useful religion was to the Habsburgs can be seen, for example, in the grants of secularized principalities. Thus Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Ferdinand's second, still underage son, although already German Master and Abbot of Murbach, also received the Abbey of Hersfeld; indeed, although only eleven years old, he was already Bishop of Strasbourg and Bishop of Passau, he also received the Bishopric of Halberstadt, the Archbishopric of Bremen and the particularly rich Archbishopric of Magdeburg, all in cooperation with Pope Urban VIII, when he still hoped that the emperor would crush his opponents - with all his crows - an "immense weakening of Protestant power in Germany" (p. 3 I $).

However, there were always tensions with Rome, especially during Urban's long reign, whether this concerned the division of the papacy of Aquileia, the legal status of the Benedictine abbey of St. Maximin in Trier, the refusal of new bishoprics in Bohemia, the rejection of any cardinal appointments or other papal graces or whatever. Ferdinand was also not afraid to have the Viennese bishop Cardinal Melchior Klesl arrested and imprisoned for five years because of differences in church policy, his attempt to mediate in the Bohemian Uprising i6i 8."

The relationship between the Habsburgs, indeed the two cooperating branches of the Habsburgs pursuing overall dynastic goals in Upper Austria, and the Curia, which was hostile to the Habsburgs in the Mantuan succession, was even more tense.

Throughout the conflict, which dragged on for years and entangled most European countries, Urban VIII feigned neutrality. At every opportunity, he, the father of Christendom, acted as a moral authority, as an impartial peace mediator, although he clearly favored France's aggressive policy against the Spanish Habsburgs, as well as France's rapprochement with the emperor's most loyal opponent and temporary rival, the Bavarian Emperor.

The Pope, who not only denied Ferdinand any support from the League for Mantua, but also denied him the right to wage foreign wars without the consent of the electors, even seriously anticipated a clash between the imperial army and the League troops in the spring of i6z8. Even the pope forgot himself to the French ambassador in Rome, Philippe de Béthune, on the occasion of an audience on October 6, i6z8, to such an extent that he declared that "if Louis XIII. If Louis XIII appeared in Lyon "to protect the freedom of Italy", he, the Pope, would send men into the field who, in conjunction with the French army, could successfully oppose the Spanish, and said the following January that God would addict the House of Austria.

To Urban's dismay, however, the emperor, the lord o f Mantua, intervened in favor of his dynasty. In May i *6z9,* a force of zoooo warriors occupied Graubünden and the Valtellina. They defeated the Venetian land army at Villabella (Villa- buona), on both sides of the Mincio, and in July i 630 took Mantua, which had been ravaged by famine and plague, resulting i n days of gruesome plundering, including the desecration of churches and monasteries by the emperor's Protestant officers, and the generals' loot of the ducal palace, calculated at around i 8 million scudi. Although the war did not pay off for Ferdinand, the Peace of Ch[i]erasco in Piedmont in April i63 i did for France.

Even the pious emperor, who believed in the Church, often gave greater weight to his own dynastic interests than to religious or even relevant expectations or actions of the Holy Fathers if these seemed to seriously jeopardize his imperial and house power policy.

The situation was fundamentally similar with the influential Duke and {since i6 z j) Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria, even though the religious component in his politics was hardly as profound as in that of Ferdinand, his cousin by the way, who was also his father-in-law and brother-in-law. But even Maximilian, although educated from an early age not by theologians but by lawyers, was also

mentally very differently structured, bureaucratically rigid, very self-conscious, a fanatic of discipline and order, Maximilian w a s also a lame prince, characterized by zeal and the fight against "heresy", not to say obsessed. He worked closely with the papacy, with so-called reform orders, and also had correspondingly selected confessors, the Fathers Johann Vervatix. John Buslidius, Gregory of Valencia, all Jesuits again. And it was no coincidence that he led the League, which was particularly dedicated to the protection of Catholicism, although his spoils of war, every territorial and dynastic achievement, were certainly as important, if not more important, than his confession.

In fact, Maximilian did almost everything he did f o r religion for himself. And as much as he stood up for them, his commitment to his own power was even greater. For wherever he was victorious - in the name of God - {or, as he once put it, "came and saw, but God won" }, he also won for himself: large monetary gains, vast territories, the Palatinate Electorate, and this even against the wishes and will of almost all the princes, even against the imperial constitution, but which he had been holding for a long time.

{by the Wittelsbachs of Munich for centuries) for "the House of Bavaria", which means hereditary!

Thus, the restoration of Catholicism in the territories conquered by Maximilian, the work of conversion - either with monks, often Jesuits, Capuchins, Franciscans, or with soldiers, or with both - was always also his advantage, the enlargement of the Catholic Church. Whether he made and kept the predominantly Protestant imperial city of Donauwörth Catholic in Swabia almost like an invasion (p. 3o8), whether he shamelessly blackmailed the Emperor in the Munich Treaty (p. 3 i 6) or whether he made the Re-

Catholicization of the Upper Palatinate i 6z y with regard to Saxony first slowly, - -7 became stricter and, after the homage b y means of coercive and violent measures, again

intensified.

Maximilian was soon opposed to any increase in Wallenstein's power, and ultimately that of the emperor himself, primarily because of his own thirst for power. It was again Maximilian who, in the fall of i 6-7 after

called for a general restitution of the church estates, the imperial foundations, the landed monasteries, the monasteries. After all, after all the Christian Catholic battle feasts and triumphs, after his victories, after Tilly's victory on the Barenberg and Wallenstein's victory at the Dessau Bridge, "the fruits of the Catholic restoration had been plucked", the colossal territorial theft by the Protestants had to be reversed at last, especially as, complains von Pastor, the "theft of so many bishoprics, abbeys and monasteries sat like a thorn in the heart" of the best Catholics."

On the other hand, however, the Protestant
The thought of the tyranny of the Catholic emperor towards his, Gustav Adolf's, Protestant co-religionists, whom he had already "enslaved to the extreme" in i6z3
He offered them a free state in Sweden as early as i•7 and soon came to protect and save them.

The stereotypical motives for the invasion, which his propaganda propagated, included both the liberation of German Protestantism and the restoration of German liberty. And, of course, he himself proclaimed in his proclamation that he had come to re-establish the -general Protestant essence- and -political freedom- in Germany. But to Catholics, in Paris and Venice, he declared it to be an Austrian lie that he was waging a religious war.

The Swedish king was also personally pious. It was also part of his custom to invoke God before a battle and to invoke his blessing on the good Protestant cause in the face of the entire army, as was the case at Lützen, where -Victoria was "extremely great, but the king fell or, according to a Swedish report, gave his **life** and limb - for the honor of God's holy name and for the preservation of German liberty and freedom .... ." While Cardinal Secretary of State Barberini, the Pope's nephew, immediately wrote to the Parisian nuncio Alessandro Bichi in response to the news of his death: -'As you can easily imagine, the Pope received the news with rejoicing, for now the serpent is dead who sought to poison the whole world with his gih." Urban himself had not yet experienced the death of the enemy - whom it was his duty to love

would have been - -long wished for and ... without
was subject to the most fervent prayers implored by God", indeed this
-offered a sacrifice with exuberant joy ... -, had read a thanksgiving mass, sung the Te Deum and let Preuden shots thunder from the Engelsburg.'-

Of course, the Swedish prince also fought and died for his own interests, the unquestionably desired position of great power. Even before he set foot on German soil, the Christian had fought in many campaigns (one speaks of eighteen) and declared in the Stockholm Imperial Council: - His strategic ideas ranged from initially rather limited objectives on the Pomeranian coast, which he wanted to see cleansed of enemies, to the liberation of the North and Baltic Seas, to truly imperial dimensions, an advance into Silesia, Bohemia and perhaps even Austria. However, he liked to appear publicly as a confessional rejoicer, as a defender of his German co-religionists and emphasized - for them more a land-hungry aggressor, an invader, a conqueror - that he was fighting "out of pure nobility". In truth, he was not waging a religious war, but a political war, not a war against the German Catholics, but a war against Germany. It has been proven that he said to the Duke of Mecklenburg: - Should I become Emperor ...- And after the Battle of Leipzig, he is also said to have *demanded that* the Elector of Saxony give him his 5vote to become Holy Roman Emperor.-°

Of course, the Swede was not the only one with this long-term goal.

The Calvinist Elector Friedrich V. of the Palatinate, a far-reaching supporter of his opponent Maximilian of Bavaria, also wanted, in serious excess of his own powers, to restore the imperial crown to the Habsburgs, which they had worn since -438, and to establish a Protestant emperorship, whereby he was certainly more interested in the emperorship than in the faith, which he, like all power-hungry people, naturally put forward, since Frederick was already following a "call from God" when he accepted the Bohemian royal crown, as he declared,
-mcin's only goal is to serve God and his church". In all
Protestant houses of worship, the bells tolled, the sound of

the Te Deum. According to the Bohemian Confederation Act of i6 ig, the Union, the Protestant counter-alliance to the Catholic League, which was closely linked to the Palatinate, had also been created solely for the promotion of God's honor.

In the imperial camp, the convert Wallenstein outwardly adhered strictly to Catholicism. Having converted from the Brethren under Jesuit influence, he founded a Jesuit school in his capital Gitschin, just as he generally favored the Jesuits in order to please the emperor. He may have made a pilgrimage to Loreto for similar reasons and supported pilgrimage churches and monasteries as far as Częstochowa! Money, of which Martin Opitz complained at the time that "no deeper sea devours it as much as war", was obtained by the military from plenty of dubious sources, including a coinage company (with the highest personalities of the court!) for the production of "extended money". To cover his capital requirements, he also worked closely with the Calvinist financier de Witte, who committed suicide after Wallenstein's first dismissal. The duke was unscrupulous, religiously indifferent and d e v o t e d to astrology. As a general, he promoted Catholics and Protestants in equal measure; indeed, Archduke Leopold wrote to his brother, the emperor, that the majority of Wallenstein's army consisted of Lutherans and Calvinists.

His murderers were highly paid by the Viennese court, which had avoided a trial against him, the highest being the imperial general Matthias Gatlas, a special confidant of Wallenstein, who had him promoted to lieutenant general a year before his murder. Gallas, who was notorious for his troop wastage, received almost qooooo guilders and the Wallenstein dominion of Friedland from the Emperor. Other militiamen involved in planning the murder each received several hundred thousand guilders. The actual blood work was carried out on behalf of the Irish colonel Butler by officers of his regiment. ßutler was raised to the rank of count in gratitude, received zz ooo guilders and the Wallenstein dominion of Friedberg. "The greed of the generals was truly scandalous, and the imperial treasury was left with nothing from the enormous coiifiscationeii. The generals' heirs possessed

the confiscated goods until the middle of the twentieth century (Polilensky)."

The example of one of the most influential personalities in the age of the Thirty Years' War drastically shows how little religion was at the center of purposes and goals.

Armand Jean du Plessis, Duke of Richelieu { i 58 y-z 64 s), France's best-known and most important cardinal and since

• •4 The First Minister (principal ministre) of his Most Christian King Louis XIII, the famous Catholic prince of the Church, was the one who brought the still powerful Habsburg, the Catholic Vienna and Catholic Madrid, who deliberately prolonged the war in Germany in order to weaken Vienna and Madrid, and even their opponent, his own ally, the Swedes; and then, himself increasingly powerful in the meantime, to replace the exhausted Habsburg supremacy in Europe with the strengthened Bourbon supremacy. With which the ambitious man also sought to increase his own fame and more. After all, he was so arrogant that he disputed with the Duke of Savoy, Charles V's grandson, about being the first to walk through a door {and enforced this claim). Financially, too, he did not forget his personal needs, spending more on himself each year than France's annual subsidies to its Swedish ally, and was still able to leave his nephews and nieces a fortune estimated at tens of millions of livres; indeed, at a time when the purchasing power of a livre was equivalent to seven or eight gold francs, he could publicly declare that celibates, who possessed nothing that survived them but their souls, collected -no earthly treasures. (Richelieu had more scruples about women. He called them "animals", incapable of -doing any good" and affirmed -on my conscience, that nothing is so capable of ruining a state as they are.

The great cardinal was the one who, in France, had the privilege The "taille", a tax imposed only on the common people, was a complete and principled concession to the "king", but it was all the more oppressive for the common people, the millions of craftsmen, merchants and farmers. Thus the "taille", a tax imposed only on the commoners, rose from about

ten million livres, from the end of Henry IV's reign (i6io) to the end of Richelieu's term of office (i 4*) four and a half times as much. Consequently, one uprising followed another, i 63o in Burgundy, i *6$ i* in Provence, i 63 z in Lyon, also in Paris, z63 in Bordeaux, i ö36 in the entire southwest, i63 q in Normandy. The cardinal had the poor victims of his exploitation beaten up by troops, brought quite a few to the gallows, to the wheel, to the bar, to the galleys - and "regularly decreed new tax increases" {Huxley).

It was also the great cardinal who brutally hunted down the Protestants in France and destroyed the Hugeriots, but outside his country he joined forces with Lutherans and Calvinists¡ and concluded alliances with the States General in which

every Catholic cult had been heretical since• 574 * . It was also Cardinal Richelieu who not only supported the -heretics- in Germany, but also supported the Swedish king there against the Catholic Church.

He did everything he could to fuel the inferno, even negotiating with the Turks, the "hereditary enemy of Christendom". Indeed, Swedish and French armies had been operating together since the early 1940s,

and in March4• their advance on Wieii uur was halted by the death of the Swedish commander Johan Banér. Despite everything, however, the great cardinal made an enormous effort to realize all his political and mi-

The Habsburgs were able to present their military operations vis-à-vis foreign countries in the most beautiful religious light, with the appearance of impeccable law, always appearing as the attacked, never as the attacker. And when he died at the end of i6¢z, soon followed by Louis **XIII,** under the regency of Anne of Austria { r 6oi-i 666), sister and sister-in-law of the Habsburgs Philip IV and Ferdinand III, her First Minister, perhaps also, it is doubtful, her lover, Cardinal Jules Ma- zarin (r 6oz-i *66* i), continued Richelieu's rigorous policy of interference, which elevated France to the leading power in Europe.

THE POPES AND THE WAR

Now in those decades, from the end of the i 6th century to the middle of the
of the -7th century, a colossal chaos of states in Christian Europe, an anarchic confusion of wars, which were preferably passed off as religious wars. Everything seemed to revolve around
God, about the right confession, the only "true" church. At that time, it was not simply Catholics against Protestants. Only at the beginning were there relatively denominationally homogeneous battlegroups, which increasingly turned into mixed-denominational armies. However, from the very beginning, the great war was not only ignited by questions of religion, by clerical concerns, but also by national, social, economic, princely and clerical greed, in short by questions of very profane power, which considerably confused the fronts.

Landgrave Ludwig V of Hesse-Darmstadt, for example, was a Lutheran but unconditionally loyal to the emperor. The Protestant Electorate of Saxony also took the Emperor's side in exchange for the pledging of Lusatia, and was even prepared to support him militarily. i 63 x However, like Protestant Brandenburg, which initially remained neutral, it joined the anti-imperial "League of Leipzig" - despite all mutual disagreements - and shortly afterwards also the Swedes. Catholic France declared war on the Catholic Habsburgs, first Spain, then the Kaiser, and then fought them, together with Protestant Sweden, for almost thirteen years, the worst of the war, without there being an actual decision. {The episcopal Bamberg was conquered thirteen times until i64i.)

It is clear that it was no longer primarily about religion, about a
It was a religious war in which the political leader of a major Catholic power, a cardinal of the Roman Church, supported the Protestant king of Protestant Sweden with large sums of money and ultimately with large troop alliances in order to ruin the Catholic emperor. It only appeared that they were still fighting over confessional differences, which did play a role here and there, but in the course of the war sometimes even played a stronger role again.

The role that religion played in the game of the powers that be had long since ceased to be a decisive one, as people often tried to fool the world, at least at the time, when many contemporaries saw religion merely8 as a cover for other motives, for political self-assertion, power g a i n s and new potential for violence. Whereby, however, whenever this was possible in the game of powers for power, confessional differences or equality were played off, the actual driving forces, the various power-political forces and motives were often exaggerated in confessional terms and not infrequently the most heinous war crimes, true bloodlust epidemics, w e r e justified with the alleged protection of the - true faith.*'

The four Holy Fathers involved in the war were, of course, particularly interested in defending this -true faith-, albeit to varying degrees.

In the early years of the war, they also had their own troops fighting, a papal infantry regiment of sooo men and a papal cavalry division of 5oo men, which underlined the war's character as a religious war. Naturally, they were all in favor of continuing it, as popes are always in favor of war when they expect to gain an advantage from it. Like Paul V {i So5-i6xi), they all gave thanks for victories through public celebrations, processions and prayers, shots of joy. (Praying and shooting, it cannot be emphasized enough, they belong together here). Like Paul, they all wanted to see heresy eradicated by force, the heretics expelled, and thus expected an "immense weakening of Protestant power in Germany.

Of course, Pope Paul also gave money for this.

Immediately after the Defenestration of Prague on May z3. May r 6i 8, the Pontifex maximus demanded that Emperor Matthias and King Ferdinand launch a campaign using all their own available resources, promising and paying 6oooo florins. He then issued a three-year tithe for the Italian clergy to support the new emperor Ferdinand II, which was to bring in zooooo scudi, but this tithe went exclusively to the League. Paul also granted a one-off t i t h e from

the German church estates by the bull of 3 i. y. i öao, which was calculated to yield around one and a half million florins. Furthermore, the Pope promised a grant of ioo ooo scudi (in fact it was exactly g8 67°) from a tithe that he had imposed on the twelve Italian monastic congregations. However, he apparently never paid a further xooooo scudi, which he promised to give from his own funds.

His successor, Gregory XV (i6zi-i6z3), reached more boldly into his pockets {of whomsoever). Above all, he bought two duchies from his dear relatives for more than a million gold scudi: the dear brother Orazio Ludovisi the Duchy of Fiano for aoo ooo scudi, and the dear nephew Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, a Jesuit pupil, the Duchy of Zagarolo for 86o ooo scudi the very next year - as if the high priest had sensed his brief work in the vineyard of the Lord. Of course, such interventions of the Holy Spirit were not so rare. Alexander VIII, for example, who began his ecclesiastical career under Gregory's successor Urban VIII, had almost made nepotism the program of his sixteen-month pontificate *i !9 9 -)* -Let us hurry if possible," cried the newly appointed, almost eighty-year-old deputy, "for the three and twentieth hour has already struck. Whereupon he immediately showered his relatives summoned from Venice with riches, appointed the nephews Marco and Pietro Ottoboni {the latter, after all, a friend of Handel, who dedicated many works to him) as cardinals, bought duchies and entered into lucrative marriages. Just as Pope Gregory secured four more principalities for the Seigniors through a clever marriage policy - and he nevertheless supported the German ruler and his war, the "pillar of the churches", as he repeatedly praised him, even more than his predecessor Paul, providing him and the League with large subsidies and even more than doubling his predecessor's monthly war payments.

And from the beginning of his pontificate, Gregory warned insistently against debates on peace, urging instead, no less insistently and with the most beautiful black-and-white painting, for war, for the degradation of "heresy", and also pursued the restitution of the Church's

He enthusiastically welcomed the occupation of Bohemia, the Upper Palatinate, the Rhine Palatinate and the extermination of the Protestants in general and wished to reinforce the emperor's troops with his own papal troops commanded by a cardinal.

Pope Gregory even unashamedly diverted considerable funds from the veneration of saints. In February iözz, he ordered the upcoming canonizations of Ignatius of Loyola, Philip Neri, St. Jsidore, Francis Xavier and Theresa of Ávila to be carried out simultaneously rather than individually, as was usually the case, in order to contribute the money saved to the League's war effort. In total, Pope Gregory XV paid the following sums to finance the Catholic troops within

of just under two and a half years- 4s5Ooo scudi or - -39 oo guilders of good coin and around 7 ooo guilders of bad coin."

Under Gregory's successor Pope Urban VIII (i6Z3-* 44) from the House of Barberini, however, the funds for the warring Catholic sect in Germany flowed modestly, if at all.

Both the curials and the Romans are said to have been equally astonished by this. -In the midst of the "conflagration of Catholic churches and monasteries", it was said, the Pope stood as cold and rigid as ice. The King of Sweden had more zeal for his Lutheranism than the Holy Father had for the Catholic faith alone.

Urban apologized, justified himself, often regretted not being able to support the fighters better, but was so stingy that people from Vienna to Madrid were upset about it. The thrifty pope pointed to the amount of expenditure {"highly significant-), the amount of debt and emphasized "especially the costs incurred for the war in Italy -.

However, while he declared the papal coffers to be completely empty around 1610 as a result of the Mantuan conflict, he bought the principality of PaĺeStfĬfíß ° 7-5 ooO scudi. Two years later, Taddeo's estate was already estimated at four million scudi. And again soon after that

he gets Valmontone and the surrounding area for 4 yoo scudi. In total, during Urban's zi years of employment, nephew

Taddeo received 4 million scudi and his brother, the cardinal nephew Francesco Barberini, even *63* million scudi, so
fats high sums, so that Ranke thought it was a clerical error. However, even von Pasror notes (in a footnote) with regard to this information, which was included in a general announcement about Innocent X's conclave: "But it is confirmed by the reports of the Tuscan messengers". Conclave: "But it is confirmed by the reports of the Tuscan messengers". Jesuit Grisar also notes that "the same figure", roy millions of scudi, is found in several manuscripts.

The Holy Father, however, knew that the Papal States, which he extended t h e furthest, because his favorite object was war, were -very small, did not possess "mountains of gold", and the Holy See needed the treasure hoarded in the En- gelsburg -for its own defense". However, the Pope gladly o r d e r e d public prayers for the afflictions of the Church in Germany and granted indulgences to the faithful.

The eighth Urban was therefore a bit of a dandy towards the emperor. He preferred to squander the Vatican finances in t h e service of his neighbors, the Barberini family, some of whom he made commanders-in-chief of his troops at sea and on land, as well as his brother, the Capuchin Antonio the Elder, and several nephews as cardinals, one of whom was only twenty years old. And since the greedy also lusted after the Duchy of Castro, he got himself involved in a purely military small war that cost a total of twelve million 5cudi and devastated large areas of the ecclesiastical state. And since he
against the -united Italy - he sent jo ooo warriors on foot and 6ooo on horseback into battle, but nevertheless had to conclude a less than advantageous peace in 644 , shortly before his death,
cc, according to his doctor, fainted from the pain - and later asked heaven for revenge before he died.

After all, it was hardly by chance that Urban had named himself after the infamous first crusading pope Urban II (cf. VI Ch. 6!), had devoted his special interest to the military since the beginning of his pontificate, had also boasted about the size of his army and had sent 6ooo men of foot and

6oo horsemen. i6aS, after defeating the Danes at Lut- ter on the Barenberg, the Holy Father hoped for the complete destruction of their army.

Indeed, at that time he was considering an attack on England, for which he hoped to win over France and Spain. First he negotiated with the French and Spanish envoys himself, then he entrusted the conferences to Nuncio Spada in Paris. The Spa-
nier were to land i*-7> EnglaSld, the French the following spring, and Ireland was then to fall to the Pope, perhaps from
ruled by a viceroy.

It was also Urban who drove i 6*7z the continuation of the war against La Rochelle, rejecting peace negotiations, and the next year he celebrated the fall of the wretchedly starved fortress, which had been considered impregnable, with Te Deum, bonfires and
The thunder of cannons. In general, armaments and equipment were built, Rome was partly converted into fortifications, Castel Sant'Angelo into a modern fortress; as early as i6z8, 8ooooo scudi were spent on it. All in all, the military deputy is said to have spent 4 < ooo scudi - four years before his death,3 • ooo scudi were still available for the church administration. One day, Urban was reminded of old papal decrees,
he replied very tellingly: the words of a living pope are worth more than the statutes of a hundred deceased ones!

Barracks were also built, arms factories and arsenals, cannons were manufactured using ancient bronze beams from the porch of the Pantheon or an ancient gate of S. Adria- nos, already mocked by contemporaries in the famous epigram: -Quod von feceiunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini" tWhat the barbarians did not do, the Barberini did). The pope also bought military equipment for considerable sums, even installing an arsenal with hand weapons for an army of 8,000 men under the Vatican Library. Other cities in the Papal States were also protected by defensive fortifications, such as Loreto, Ancoiia, Pesaro and Castelfranco, which was given the name "Forte Urbano". Civitavecchia was developed into a naval port, the fleet was modernized and the coast was equipped with numerous watchtowers to protect the city.

Defense not only against enemies, but also against the needy and sick. For example, the papal commander-in-chief Battista Naro threw plague sufferers back into the sea when they attempted to land.

Catholics repeatedly praised the peace efforts of Urban **VIII,** which of course only benefited the Catholic world. Fritz Dickmann also writes in his "5tandard work" on Urban's Peace of Westphalia: -Peace among the Catholic states belonged to his heart, he promoted it unceasingly from the first day of his pontificate .... . again and again he offered his mediation, not for a moment did the papal diplo- macy rest from exhorting the Catholic powers to negotiate peace, to gather their forces against the infidels and heretics ... Only their conversion can ... be the object of Catholic efforts; if this cannot be achieved, then only their destruction - the Pope indeed speaks of destruttione and estirpatione - remains.

The papacy played a decisive role in the Peace of Westphalia itself.

The Curia had forbidden its envoys to speak to Protestant diplomats, or even to negotiate in their presence. And the Pope also ignored the apostates. When he spoke of a universal peace, he did not really mean one, but, like his predecessor, only peace among Catholics. He paid no attention to Protestants, their princes, their republics.

After three years of bloodshed, it was Inriocent X (44-z6) who was almost the only one to protest against the Peace of Westphalia in toto, as the concessions to the Protestant states seemed too great to him. After the legate Fabio Chigi - then his successor as Alexander VII - had already fought against the concession policy of the emperors, repeatedly and severely rebuked it and finally lodged three public protests against the peace treaty, Innocent X condemned this peace from the Vatican as -null and void, invalid, unfair, unjust, condemnable, reprehensible, meaningless, meaningless and ineffective for all time.

Emperor Ferdinand **III** forbade the dissemination of the papal objection, which the Archbishop of Trier was the only German prelate to publish. However, the papal stance had practically no consequences, the protest remained without effect¡ but to this day the Roman hierarchs have not backed down."

ia. CHAPTER

PAX CH RISTIANA OR "CHRISTIAN LIFESTYLE" AFTER THE WAR OF THE CENTURY

-Stand in good posture at all times, so that you may b e able to maintain your position.- Frederick William I, the -Great Elector-'

-The Turks pay particular attention to the Pope. They consider him capable of uniting the Christian potentates into an alliance against them, the only bulwark against their power, which they fear.
The Venetian ambassador at the High Gate, Civrano, i68z-

-In any case, it was agreed that the supply of the armies with food and ammunition could not have been ensured without papal help. In August 1683, when the Pope, in dire need, quickly sent the Emperor yc'o ooo florins, Nuntiue Buonvisi replied to Rome that he had brought the joyful news to the Emperor the very night after the sum arrived, and that the Emperor was so moved that tears streamed from his eyes. i'
Ludwig von Pastnr'

.'Under Louis XIV {1** -*7 s J, the kingdom developed an ever larger bureaucratic apparatus and became indebted through extensive wars ... Between i 685 and +7 ^, under Louis XIV, tax revenues had fallen by i7 - and the national debt had grown by * 4 -*% as a result of the constant wars. Despite the increasing number of taxes that the third estate had to pay, such as **road taxes,** salt taxes, **knot taxes and window taxes,** the state deficit continued to grow in the i 8th century.

This is the great socio-historical background against which the development of the Revolution must be understood, even if it has a specifically French character and is not always found in France.

information on political education was available to the same extent.

From nxn SEHxsuc T xzcH FRiEnxx uxn

ALWAYS NEW WAR PROJExTxN

The long war had exhausted the countries, especially the Germans, in terms of population, economy, morale and in every respect. But even during the peace talks - opened in Osnabrück with Sweden in i644 and with France in Münster - the parties accused each other o f not seeking peace, of only wanting to delay the war with tricks and intrigues, of only wanting to gain time. The Spanish envoy Count Guzmán de
Peñaranda cursed every day that kept him in Münster and scolded the peace congress itself as the greatest obstacle to peace, as it only served to hatch new plots and war plans. Certainly not everyone saw it that way. But even when Ferdinand III, less fanatical in religious matters than his father, whom he had succeeded as emperor, sought to end the war and at the beginning -*4i by his closest advisors, fellow
The Secret Council members obtained the relevant expert opinions, but no one had any hope of negotiations. On the contrary, all expert opinions stated that peace could only be achieved through further armaments and military succession. However, the emperor came under increasing pressure and lost more and more ground. i 6ą6/i6d7
his opponents crossed the Danube, and in the summer of i6d8 the Sweden against Prague before -

Virtually everything wanted peace in the end. Eighteen-year-old Christine of Sweden, who became de facto ruler in **44, wanted peace even without territorial sovereignty. Any peace, she said, was welcome. After all, even the greatest

Maximilian of Bavaria, for example, became a peace politician. Indeed, he, who only a few years earlier would have preferred to wage "another hundred years of war" rather than give up anything essentially Catholic, concluded an armistice with France and now, bitterly lamented by Rome, combined his peace appeals with open threats against reluctant Catholic circles.

After all, it wasn't just i64s a Bavarian army at Allerheim {In the following years, Swedish and French pincer attacks had also led to the destruction of the last imperial and Bavarian armies.

The longing for peace was overwhelming, as was the misery all around, especially on German soil. Before the war, often witnessed, well-cultivated, flourishing land, afterwards largely desert. Certainly, the horrors of the war have also been exaggerated, sometimes simply exaggerated. For example, a list of damages compiled by the Swedish government calculated more destroyed places in some areas than there were places at all. In total, Sweden alone was supposed to have ruined almost two thousand castles, fifteen hundred towns and eighteen thousand villages

That the German population shrank from sixteen to four million is a fairy tale. However, it goes without saying that a country that had been overrun by scorching and burning piles of murder not just once, but again and again, for decades, fell into often horrific devastation. There may have been areas that were hardly o r not at all affected by the war, but others w e r e h i t much harder. Large parts of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Thuringia, Hesse, the Upper Rhine region, Württemberg and the Palatinate w e r e gradually devastated, burnt down and almost deserted, especially the so-called flat country. According to Franz, the peasantry in Mecklenburg fell by half, in Wümemberg the population fell from q5o ooo to too ooo in the first two decades of the war. In Bavaria, too, much remained undeveloped; according to Bosl, 9oo of almost yooo towns and villages were completely destroyed, and according to Schremmer, the number of inhabitants fell to 5o percent due to fighting, epidemics and famine, Munich's from -4 OOO Huf 9ooo, Landshut's from

11 OOO pdf äl2f 2 JOO. And towards the middle of the 18th century, io ooo farms were still deserted here, at the end of which 5 ooo farms were still deserted. Overall, the German population shrank by up to 3o percent in urban areas and up to 5o percent in rural areas as a result of the hostilities.

Of course, there is also a tendency to minimize the losses as much as p o s s i b l e . There are, after all, historians5 who even want to give the Christian powers a wreath of rtihny from the endurance of the permanent order; after all, peace was not achieved by turning away from the religious foundations of politics, but on the contrary was an expression of a "principled, political capacity for peace rooted in the special religious-sociological foundations of Europe" {Schilling). Whereby this
-peace is still being played off against Islamic jihad, which strictly speaking only knows victory and not peace. Of course, since the other side, the "evil" side, also makes peace, they are now being criticized for not accepting the other side as "equals in principle" when it comes to concluding agreements {!) with partners of other faiths that are unavoidable in terms of realpolitik. As if the reverse were so much different!

But did people in the Christian world even want wars after i648? Well, there were hardly any fewer in the second half of the• 7 J century than in the first. War after war was w a g e d by Christianity again, soon after it had made peace,
while she was still closing it, and demonstrated a willingness to make peace, at least pretending to do so. The beautiful appearance.

Contrary to previous research assumptions, the army was disarmed, most of the troops of the great orlogy were dismissed and there was hardly an army that had "stood still". On the contrary, they freed themselves from the personnel ballast of the slaughter heaps, from superfluous costs, achieved through such -reduction and -reformation-, as the
-(magic formulas), with far higher performance and profitability {growth} with far fewer people - and at the same time effectively deceived the world with the propaganda of demohilization.

This is, mutatis mutandis, no less reminiscent of the current methods of our military and economic strategists than the judgment

Bernhard Kroeners on the absolute princely state after the Thirty Years' War. This state had an interest in the bleakest possible background against which it could demonstrate the necessity of a standing, constantly paid and thus "disciplined" army to its subjects, who were generally unwilling to pay.

The wars of the•7. century contributed - fortunately - to the formation of states! The term "state-building wars" was even coined in view of them {Burkhardt),
the war as the "flywheel of state-building" (Hintze)
- whereby the emphasis was not on education. It was precisely the Three Years' War that had also enforced the "miles perpetuus", the "permanent soldier", the "professional army on a broad front", had induced the countries to "peipetize the army system, to redirect a good part of industrial production to the needs of the army and to create administrative bodies that ensured that the armies did not become independent and a danger to civil society". {Duchhardt).

Advantage upon advantage! Especially for taxpayers: while military spending amounted to 3o percent of the budget in peacetime, it climbed to between7 and 8y percent during the war.

WAR Aur WAR

The Peace of Westphalia was intended to establish confessional neutrality in Europe between Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists and (in the form of the Grand Duke of Moscow) Orthodox Christians and establish a "pax christiana". However, the century and a half after the Three Years' War, the period between i Syo and i 8oo, was not a particularly peaceful era.

On the contrary! The entire• 7. century was warlike through and through, the second half like the first. There was only one completely war-free year in this God-blessed secular period! And it was almost the same in the i 8th century. Many people knew nothing

than war. It was normal for them, for a few it was an "ari - sport of kings". They had reserved foreign policy for themselves, so to speak. And foreign policy meant (even more than domestic policy): Diplomacy and war. And if diplomacy did not or should not lead any further, then they fought. People fought for the purpose of territorial expansion, fought for economic and dynastic reasons, for reasons of sovereignty, repu- tarion, for the sake of glory and honor (gloire). Basically, as always, behind everything was the struggle for power, for the ascent to power, the preservation of power, the increase of power, and this was ultimately, always and forever, only possible by means of violence.'°

Even in the months following the signing of the peace treaty at the end of October i 6d 8, there were "repeated smaller battles" {Kroener). After all, despite the peace conferences in Westphalia, the war declared by Richelieu i ö3 y Spain, the "residual war", continued for a long time.

Even the Swiss Confederation did not enjoy peace. Although it had been considered exempt from the Empire since i¢qq, despite numerous quarrels between Catholic and Protestant cantons, it was not involved in the great three-decade slaughter and was guaranteed de facto independence from the German Empire in the Peace of Westphalia. Internally, however, there was no real calm in Switzerland either. In 1953, it was gripped by a fairly widespread peasant war, a serious crisis of power that could only be overcome by the various authorities with a heavy hand (Press). And once the badly battered peasants had killed the "authorities", they then killed the peasant leaders: 35 death tolls.

Three years later, however, i6 yö, the First War of Villmerg gave the Catholic cantons a certain preponderance over the Protestants for half a century, who iyia won the Second War of Villmerg - against the Abbot of St. Gallen and the Pope's money, among others. And throughout the i 8th century, the unrest, oppression and upheavals continued in Switzerland. There were still uprisings at*7*5. 766, i yyO, I y8•. *79d.

-The Swiss governments, in their undisturbed possession of power, had never thought of the needs of the people and of contemporary changes and improvements; on the contrary, the pleas and complaints of the people had always been rejected with severity; therefore, when the storm of revolution broke out in France, the Swiss showed no attachment to their authorities, but showed great inclination to imitate France"
(Pierer)."

England had not taken part in the peace conferences in Münster and Osnabrück. They were still in the aftermath of the Civil War and other similar "cleansing acts".

The authoritative man, the real lord of the island kingdom, was Oliver Cromwell (i 5q9-i *6$8*), a small Puritan country nobleman, who rose to the rank of cavalry general of the Parliamentary troops, even Lord Protector, but did not want to become king - although the title of Emperor of the British Isles had occasionally even been devised for him. Cromwell, who considered himself and the English people to be God's chosen ones - a delusion that continued to have an effect here - and who, as a devout Bible Christian, naturally advocated the death penalty, fought against King Charles I, first in parliament and then in a four-year civil war {r64*-1645). And like the king, Cromwell, the leader of the "Indians", the Puritans, also fought against the Anglicanism of Charles' High Church and Catholicism. In the manner of his Sectierec, he often mouthed pious Bible verses, especially during war, which was common, and liked to associate them with atrocities. Entirely devoted to his belief in divine providence, he felt himself, like
In the fall of**45 , for example, when the stronghold of Basing House was stormed, as a champion of the Most High widef the forces of darkness.
He quoted from the Psalms and had almost a dozen priests slain or hanged and a hundred defenders of the castle murdered. "You must remember what they were: they were most of them **Papists;** therefore our muskets and our swords did show but little compassion.

Cromwell attached enormous importance to the papal protest against the Peace of Westphalia. After all, the leading men of the revolutionary regime did not see Catholicism as fundamentally incapable of peace; in England they believed in an anti-Protestant movement controlled by the Curia and regarded the papal veto as a sign that "the Catholics had not yet given up their plan for the complete destruction of Protestantism" (Asch).

Action was taken against them accordingly.

After the civil war was ended and King Charles I.l -<*i-* 4s), the husband of Princess Henriette Maria, the Catholic daughter of Henry IV of France, was replaced by the -Rumpf-
parliament as a tyrant, traitor, murderer and enemy of the commonwealth, and was decapitated in January• 4s , England was made into a commonwealth under the name Commonwealth and under Crom-
well's dictatorial rule de facto became a republic { r 6qq-i 66o}. Revenge was partly taken by robbery from confiscated Catholic property; in the year i 65o over 6z ooo pounds, with the "income" from x3 effects still missing. In the same year, a law stipulated the same reward for denouncing Jesuits or priests and their guests as for catching robbers.

At that time, Scotland, which had been linked to England by a personal union since **1603,** was conquered in a "brutal war of extermination" (Handbuch der Kir- chengeschichte}.

The Catholics there, supported with money by various European powers and with weapons by Pope Innocent X, had driven out or slain Protestant settlers en masse. And after Cromwell landed in Dublin in mid-August i 6 t9, he organized veritable bloodbaths in several towns. In Dro- gheda, where he promised pardon to all those who surrendered, but then declared the event to be a judgment of God and ordered everything to be slaughtered, around one thousand people were killed near St. Peter's Church, others burned to death in the church tower or died on the roof. Similar horrors were soon repeated in the harbor town of Wexford, where several hundred people were also drowned.

The fact that the fugitives went down with the overcrowded boats was again an act of divine justice for Cromwell.

In the early summer of 1650, he left the war in Ireland. And in September i 65 i he had barely defeated Charles II, the beheaded king's son, at Worcester in September i 65 i, the Republic began the war against the Netherlands the following year, the First Anglo-Dutch War (i6yz-iöyJ), essentially a trade conflict, which was followed by the Second Anglo-Dutch War from i 66d to x6Sy, accompanied in London by the bubonic plague and the "Great Fire", and7* to 174 **IlOch** the Third Anglo-Dutch War. followed and England's supremacy at sea.

England's foreign policy goal in the i65---J years was not to stabilize peace, but to prevent it. And

No sooner had it ended the war with the Netherlands in April1654 than it entered the Franco-Spanish War on the side of France the following year. The war, which began in 1657 by the Lord

The friendship pact with France, which was concluded with the French protector, was intended to prolong the Franco-Spanish war. It had already i 635

and, as already noted, lasted over the year• 4 • rt. And since Spain was not only England's old enemy but also a stronghold of the hardest Catholicism, Cromwell was able to

act as executors of "divine providence", as "instruments of God" and make Spain appear "as an instrument of the Anticlirist in the eschatological final battle", part of a struggle between

-Light and darkness. This hateful and inflammatory language was used by both the politician and the commanders of his troops on land and at sea. In July i65y, he wrote to the commander of the Caribbean squadron stationed in Jamaica: "The Lord himself has a controversy with your enemies; even with that Roman Babylon of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper".

When Cromwell died in 658, not many wept for him: a fa-

For some, he is a native Puritan who suppresses the theater in the land of Shakespeare; for others, he is a military dictator, which are not mutually exclusive. "In reality, Cromwell is a patriotic Englishman who regards his countrymen as the chosen people and the apple of **God's** eye and endeavors to maintain order.

and to care for the Christian way of life" {Sierszyn).

After his death, there is an attempt at restoration by the Stuarts *i 66'>-i 688),* who also propagate the "Christian way of life". The son of the liquidated king, Charles II, returns from his flight to South Holland, restores the monarchy and the Anglican Church, and promises general amnesty and the free practice of religion. But in fact the Independents, the opponents of the Anglicans, are now persecuted again, the dungeons fill up, many heads roll, and even Cromwell's bones, dug up and interrogated, end up on the gallows.

The Margrave of Brandenburg Frederick William I, the "Great Elector" (z 64c-i 688), also ensured little peace, as his epithet suggests.

He knows how to combine a soldierly and mercantile sense with his Christian rulership of reformed prominence, markedly expansive action with a prominent presence within the state, a corresponding demeanor towards his subjects, whose taxes he collects militarily, again reducing the peasants to corpses, occasionally not shying away from brutal individual actions, such as the spectacular abduction of the East Prussian colonel Christian Ludwig von Ka!ckstein from Warsaw, whom he had executed in x 67s. His erratic policy, always opportunistically abandoning partners and sometimes abruptly changing fronts, to which he owed his "greatness" above all, ultimately led to talk of "Brandenburg change fever".

Drilled for war at an early age in the camp of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, for which he had a natural aptitude, so to speak, he began to build up a standing army strictly sworn to him in the final years of the Thirty Years' War, a -miles perpetuus-, now indispensable for any ambitious ruler who does not want to be defencelessly at the mercy of the lust for power of stronger men, who wants to have his own "room for manoeuvre", moreover also by means of -generous bribery- (Baumgart).

The participation of the prince, who personally controlled his general war5 treasury, in the First Northern War, first on the Swedish, then on the Polish-Austrian side, brought him definitive sovereignty over his Duchy of East Prussia in the Peace of Oliva in 66o, which paved the way for Brandenburg-Prussia, the later great power, as well as the political demise of Poland and Sweden, his main opponents in the East Sea region. iăyd supports Frederick William I in the Imperial War in Alsace against Louis XIV, 7s defeats the Swedes, who are allied with thiscm and twice as strong, at Fehrbellin (near Potsdam), whereupon he is given the epithet -Great Elector- for the first time and

-Preufiens Gloria" beckons from afar. He conquers Western Pomerania, but, abandoned by the emperor, loses practically everything he has gained to Sweden in the Peace of St. Ge£maİrlɖ79 WİØder, therefore joins France and finally rejoins the

He, the Calvinist, sends r 686 to the imperial forces in return for payment of i şo ooo Reichstaler- 7 OO men. In the meantime

he creates a fleet, undertakes overseas expeditions, founds

Grofi-Friedrichsburg in today's Ghana, the first German settlement in Africa, and in 685 also acquires the then Danish St. Thomas in the Caribbean, a trading center for slave trade, at that time already almost a century and a half in Schwang, also from

papaĺen Bułłen sanctioned {p. *4). And certainly not only characterized by the spirit of tolerance: Friedrich Wilhelm's acceptance of the i685

Huguenots expelled by Louis XIV and the i 7o Jews driven out of Vienna by the Kai- sec; they were all allowed to settle in Brandenburg-Prussia with privileged status, carry on their previous trade, remain tax-free and boost the electoral economy.

In the political testament of the "Great", he encourages his successor: -Stand in good posture at all times, so that you may have emphasis-. And it was not without reason that Frederick -the Great- saw the beginning of Prussia's rise with the -Great Elector-. The heir to the throne, Frederick III of Brandenburg, was crowned King of Prussia as Frederick 1 in Xö- nigsberg at*7 .'°

Sweden was one of the victorious states of the Great War. The peace treaty gave it Western Pomerania together with Stettin, Rügen and, beyond the Elbe, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which of course left Denmark feeling trapped. The famous peace did not bring the Danes peace either in terms of foreign policy or internally. Domestically, the serfdom of the peasants persisted throughout the entire century, strange laws against "pa- pism" prevailed and priests, especially the Jesuits, were forbidden to reside in Denmark on pain of death. In foreign policy, the peace of i4 was followed by a series of wars, especially with Sweden. The first of these wars began is7. WOn Denmark
areas as rich and important as 5cania, Halland and Błekingc
lost. The very next year the next war followed, 167a to x67s another war, also *7 > 'iner and ryoq to Woo.

In order to expand its empire and its position on the Baltic coast, Sweden launched the First Northern-Icelandic War, a war of conquest against Poland, from i 6y y to z66o. No sooner had King giri Christine, Gustav Adolf's daughter,• 54 abdicated, £e1 her cousin and successor Charles X. Gustav Wasa, Count Palatine of Two Bridges from the House of Wittelsbach, in Poland the following year.
Sweden invaded Poland, was victorious at Warsaw, took Krakow, Thorn and Elbing, but was defeated on the Danish island of Funen by Poland's allies Rufiland, Austria, the States General and Denmark) and was only saved by France's mediation x66o at the Peace of Oliva, albeit without being able to maintain its great power position, which was moreover only brief. And when Sweden, under pressure from France, continued the war in northern Germany, it owed its sorry state of affairs to the French.
Cut off• 79 to the French again in the Peace of Saint-Germain. 7 o bİs 7 r came the Second or Great, the actual Northern War, which began with the invasion of Riga by Saxon troops, ended with the collapse of Sweden as a major power and completely changed the balance of power in the Baltic region.

Poland, which was gradually becoming an aristocratic republic as a result of the ongoing weakening of its kingdom, was becoming more and more politically torn, indeed

had already become the object of partition plans around the middle of the century, lurched into anarchic conditions. During the Thirty Years' War it was fought by the Swedes, its most dangerous enemies, by the Russians and the Turks, and after the Peace of Westphalia the killing continued in the twenty years of the war.

-After the wars of the bloody deluge, the Swedish, Russian and Cossack forces, as well as the soldiers of Transylvania and Brandenburg, continued to operate in and around Poland. There were years of invasions, occupations, uprisings and almost unprecedented devastation. Indeed, the Poles, who with their -grande armée en miniature-, although terrifyingly outnumbered, won many a battle and then glorified them in legendary fashion, suffered the greatest fiasco in their history in the "Wars of the Bloody Sintf)ut", "a catastrophe even more terrible than the Three Years' War in the Holy Roman Empire". After all, the Polish heartlands of Greater Poland, Kujawy, Mazovia, Podlasie and Lesser Poland had -certainly more than half of all inhabitants lost". Has-

the Swedes, the Brandenburgers and the Brandenburgers had been at war for barely three years.

denburgers and Transylvanians between i65y and i57 caused more damage than thirty years of war in most countries of the Holy Roman Empire {Roos).

Mazovia's population had fallen from aroundi 7 Ooo to around zi z Ooo between i54 -nd 1661, while the population of Podlasie fell from ßWä Z3Z OOO to 6 i ooo. In the Volhynian district Krzemieniec, in which there were still ooo people i n 1661, lived at most sooo. Volhynia was almost completely depopulated, as was Podolia and Polish Livonia, the former main theater of war.

Of course, the undoubtedly enormous military losses were not the main cause of the depopulation. Rather, it was caused by the plague, the famines in the middle of the "granary of Europe", the countless people sold into slavery by the Tartars, the loss of births, the premature mortality, the consequences of the war, the religious atrocities, the mass slaughters committed by Cossacks and Russian soldiers, and the war itself.

The number of victims of religious hatred committed by the Roman Catholic organizations against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of eastern Poland, including clergymen and bishops, is estimated at more than 4oo ooo. In addition, between - 4 tifld i6 y5 alone about i 8oooo murdered or fled
Jews, entire Jewish communities that have been exterminated
like that of the town of k¢czyca in 1656. It is remarkable that Matt declared the egg cases, the excesses of the Cossacks and the Russians as an "Orthodox war" and those of the Swedes and Transylvanian Brandenburgers (who once set fire to seventeen churches in Poznan at once) as a "religious war". However, Poles also occasionally caused bloodbaths among their own population, mainly to punish dissidents, suspected collaborators.

Poland had lost huge areas at the time, tens of thousands of villages and their castles, schools and churches were destroyed, towns were often hit even harder and the survivors were mostly completely impoverished."

Long wars were also fought in the south, in the Danube region, with the "infidels".

Constantinople t ßyzanz), the center of the Ottoman Empire since ig y 3, was ultimately bound by the Persian War until i ö3q and did not fight against any European power until the middle of the 1940s. For this reason, the Turks were not represented at the peace talks in Osnabrück or Münster.

i64 y, however, war broke out between them and Venice over the possession of Crete, a quarter-century-long, at times extremely tense struggle that Byron called the "Iliad of Venice". An incessant series of naval and Larid battles, devastation, battles for forts, fortresses and fortified places, with the papacy in particular dominating the conflict from the outset.
promoted. Innozeriz X. (i 644"* 55l repeatedly sent money, not forgetting to p o i n t out that he also supported others.
The Venetians had to pay the Irish, for example, the Polish king, yes, that he paid soooo scudi for soldiers month after month. The Holy Father supplied the Venetians with ammunition, auxiliary scales, allowed them

their enlistment, even in ecclesiastical territory, incited both the Cossacks and the Shah of Persia against the enemy in disguise and welcomed the project, which was then dropped again, "to raise recruits for Venice's war from all the Franciscan monasteries."

Of course, the following popes were also committed to this.
Even the terminally ill Alexander VII. i s s--**7) "appealed to the European powers for assistance against the Turks, calling on the Emperor as well as Louis XIV, alerting Poĺen and Savoy,
Bavaria, the ecclesiastical electors. Alexander granted papal galleys for use and papal money. Both were also sent by Clement IX (- 7** q), who increased the latter and also prohibited the Venetians from raising troops in the Papal States,
also the levying of a tithe from all church estates in Venice, and even encouraged their sale for the war.

Even the Western friends of Christ, who attacked each other, did not completely forget the battle of the city of Laguria. Help and helpers came to Crete, knights, soldiers, hundreds of thousands of ducats from France, Germany, Italy, imperial mercenaries arrived, papal warships, French noblemen, volunteers from Sweden, German Maltese, a regiment of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, who had arrived by the Pope's grace, sent 33OO of their best warriors, the French as many as 6ooo men, Hz sailing ships and x8 galleys, for which, however, a disreputable duke had to be made cardirial in Rome. The bishops of Salzburg, Cologne, Paderborn and Trier supplied powder, and the monastery of Fulda did not want to stand back either.

The tragedy ended, of course, with the fall of Kandia, Crete's capital (today Iraklion J, situated in a labyrinth of fortifications and particularly embattled and ruined in recent years, no building complete, no house of worship, everything torn apart by gunfire, littered with mines, littered with corpses, wounded and crippled. On September 6, *i 669,* Kandia surrendered under the astonishingly generous conditions of the Ottoman victors, whose order and silence in the camp were the

deeply impressed the defeated. Everything was given free passage, about six thousand soldiers (along with all the war equipment) and four thousand inhabitants all left, "except for two Greek monks, a woman and threeJ uden".

And what remained were losses of enormous proportions. -One has The military actions during the siege were calculated at more than sixty storms and eighty failures and about one and a half thousand mine blasts and the military losses at three and a half thousand Western and four times as many Turkish dead. In x683, the Venetians gave the Pope the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty million ducats as the total cost of the war" (Kretschmayr}.

After the Ottomans gained strength in the middle of the• 7. century, the Turkish wars against the Habsburgs resumed, the last major advances of the crescent on Europe.

After the end of the "Long Turkish War" in November 1606, the Vienna Hofburg had repeatedly negotiated the continuation of the peace until i 6qq and extended it again now. Obviously, so soon after the Thirty Years' War, Vienna did not want to expel the Swedes, the "-eretici", from Germany, as the Pope wished, nor did it want to start a new war against the Turks, especially as this would probably also have been long and difficult. They were not only financially exhausted, they were exhausted in general and feared the pressure from France and the constant increase in its influence.

Nevertheless, there were political groups that were still pushing for a war against the Ottomans in the final years of the Three Years' War and were already trying to prepare for it, both in royal Hungary and in the Principality of Transylvania (both of which fell to Austria at the end of the century in the Peace of Karlowitz, along with most of Slavonia and Croatia, which thus became a great power). Elector Maximilian of Bavaria also intervened.

• *46 demgemäfi and wrote to the Emperor, - this war would lead to the liberation of the whole of Hungary and Ferdinand III would speak accordingly.

win a lot."

But the victory on i. August x64 near St. Gotthard an der Raab

With the help of the Empire and the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, Austria secures another truce, followed by the second Turkish siege of Vienna in the summer of iö83 with zoo ooo men. It led to the Battle of Kahlenberg, which was unprecedented in its "scope".

Compared with the triumph of Charles Martel 7i z over the Arabs at Tours and Poitiers {IV 3 4 i. with the war of aggression against the High Porte, Austria's policy of expansion became more and more rampant, l e a d i n g t o the Holy League between Emperor Leopold I, Poland, Venice and the eleventh Innocent i n i68J.'-.

It was above all this pope (- 7 I68q) who constantly urged the Turks to fight.

From his youth, he longed for a military career and a war against the "hereditary enemy", in which he wanted to fight and, if necessary, fall. Even as a cardinal, he is said to have donated the enormous sum of goooo gold florins (aurei) for a good cause. And from the beginning of his pontificate, he forged plans for a crusade and sought to persuade the Christian princes to launch a comprehensive offensive against the Ottoman Empire and conquer Constantinople. Persia, Russia, Poland and the emperor were to attack by land, Malta, Florence, Genoa, France and the Holy See by sea. The Vicar of Christ seemed to talk about nothing longer and more enthusiastically, everything seemed to revolve around the fight against the infidels. And indeed, it was his real life program, his government program. - The Pope had no other political goals (from Pastor). Peace among Christians, the spread of the faith and the Turkish war were w h a t he pro- posed as the cure for Europe. (And today
- behind the facades?)

Since i 77, curial diplomacy had been working non-stop on a major offensive alliance from Persia to the Pyrenees against the

• The hereditary enemy of Christendom. Year after year, the Pope preached peace in order to win his war. He therefore invoked the Catholic powers, he offered ecclesiastical graces, he prayed, cried, took part in a threefold "peace procession" during Whitsun week and supported the agitators, especially in Poland and at the Viennese court. On February 5, i 6yg, he decided to

The Imperial Diet in Grodno voted in favor of the Turkish war, including the bishops without exception, and some of the chief canons even offered half of their income as a war contribution. The Holy Father, however, concluded a speech in the consistory in March i 6yq with the expectation that the Turkish war would now begin, for which, by the way, he had repeatedly and generously donated money in all these and the following years, occasionally even making cardinals dig deeper into their pockets for the good cause, the clergy, the faithful in general.

After Innocent had failed with an offensive league - at times "day and night - in spite of his war-mongering, he strove with the same fanaticism for at least a "defensive league - a concentric attack of all Christians, promoted it among the princes, believed he could reach Constantinople in less than three campaigns and could already imagine Louis XIV as crowned emperor there."

SINCE THE "SUN KING"

Of course, the Most Christian King was hardly less inclined towards the "infidels", the "hereditary enemies", than towards the orthodox Holy Fathers. Louis XIV { I*3 -*7 5) not only wanted to thwart or at least hinder any alliance against the Turks, but even to increase their aggression against Austria, even if consideration for anti-Turkish Christianity forced him to pursue a more or less veiled pro-Turkish policy. However, even for Pope Innocent in 1885, the French king, despite all his deceptions, trickery and delaying tactics, is said to have been the only Christian prince for whom he had respect,
and of course only because he alone considered him capable of throwing the "hereditary enemy" to the ground.

Finally, the Sun King, who was admired throughout Europe and who, at the age of twenty-three, had been in charge of the government since Mazarin's death in i66 i, led Spain's subjugation, France's expansion, and the French independence.

and the empire, he waged one brutal war after another. Initially mainly against small neighbors, against Genoa and the Netherlands, which were not monarchies. i66y he instigated the War of the Devolution, a blitzkrieg, on the strength of questionable hereditary claims, in which he invaded Flanders in order to annex the Spanish Netherlands; stopped by a coalition, he had to settle for the gain of a few cities and towns.

He modestly occupied the border fortresses in the south.•*7 he invaded Loth- ringen, which he occupied for almost three decades. 17* He invaded the northern Netherlands with i zoooo men, a pure war of conquest, but which the aggressor - not his only such hypocrisy - presented as a holy war for the restoration of Catholicism, so that the deceived pontiff in Rome responded with praise and thanksgiving services¡ uur only by opening the dykes did the ravaged country, at least its core around Amsterdam, stand its ground against the French superiority.

In '76, France's fleet fights for the anti-Spanish uprising in SiZilia, i **4 invading Six Genoa. Since i 7s, the king has plundered around 6oo towns and villages in Alsafi, Lorraine, including tss

Strafiburg, awarded to France by French special courts ("Reunion Chambers") on the basis of uncertain vindications. i68q Louis occupies Luxembourg and Trier. From 1688 to 1697, he waged the War of the Palatinate Succession, citing legally unfounded claims to possession. The Palatinate was devastated, scorched earth tactics were practiced, one place after another was burned to the ground, including Worms, which w a s reduced to rubble, as was its cathedral, as well as Speyer and its cathedral (which was not rebuilt until later in the i 8th century, but was demolished again in the same year and turned into a haystack)¡ Heidelberg was also destroyed twice, xö8q and i 6q 3. Finally, the War of the Spanish Succession ı -7 *--yIz[), which is also fought in Obersee

Louis XIV after the death of the last Spanish king.

Habsburgs claimed the Spanish inheritance against Emperor Leopold I for his grandson Philip of Anjou - one of the bloodiest conflicts between states in early modern Europe" {Kampmann).

The king had expanded the military apparatus enormously, had a

The whole military industry was created, the corresponding administrative facilities and war schools were just as important as supplies, army discipline and war-loving marshals, and all this and more became exemplary for an astonished Europe."

France was also shaken by domestic unrest at the time. While Louis was still a minor, the Fronde {i6q8-i6y5), a political movement originating from the high nobility against Cardinal Mazarin's absolutism, led to an uprising of the parliament, the princes, a popular uprising in Paris, Mazarin's flight and temporary exile in Electoral Cologne, and finally to the so-called Gondé War {i6yi-i 6y3) with considerable losses.
devastation and catastrophic price increases, famines
epidemics followed.

Religion also increased the misery again, as the king desired a church under his leadership with the greatest possible independence from Rome (Gallicanism) and insisted on the religious unity of the country, i.e. harshly persecuted everything that seemed to endanger this, such as Jansenists, Quietists, but especially Pcotestants, with whose fellow believers abroad he maintained alliances.

In France, where the Reformation, the "Lutheran plague", was not very successful at first, especially in the countryside, there has been a network of organized congregations throughout the kingdom since the middle of the i 6th century, almost a state within a state, and it is almost a matter of course that the potentate, who insists on unity, now goes to the trouble of creating a new state.
{ -un roi, une loi, une foi-) against them, he begins with the rigorous suppression of their majority. He forbade Protestants to preach in all places for which they did not have express permission, forbade them to preside over assemblies of the estates and magistrates, forbade them to marry Catholics and forbade any kind of defamation against Catholicism. And, of course, every Catholic was forbidden to convert to the reformed religion under penalty of banishment.

Between i 665 and r 68 y alone, aa decrees were issued by the king and z8 by the Council of State against the Protestants. In some provinces they died out completely, in others there were bloody

outrages.

in the Dauphiné in 685 and in Nimes in 68y. At that time, the monarch decreed: - Thus We now see, with the just gratitude We owe to God, that Our concerns h a v e achieved their intended goal, since the better and greater part of Our subjects have again adopted the Catholic religion from the supposedly Reformed religion. And as a result, We want and it pleases Us that all temples of those of the said supposedly reformed religion are destroyed without delay." Hundreds of Huguenot churches were torn down.

Since the Edict of Nantes (z yq 8), the new believers possessed
The Edict of Fontainebleau, however, abolished all previous religious freedom. But with the Edict of Fontainebleau t i68 y), the Edict of Nantes is revoked, as is every previous concession. Huguenots migrated in all directions; they fled to Holland, Brandenburg a n d even South Africa, which was also a serious economic loss. -The revocation of the Edict of Nan- tes, writes Saint-Simon, -deprived France of a quarter of its population, ruined its trade and weakened it in every respect by handing the country over to the plunder of the s o l d i e r s and approving tortures and executions to which countless innocent people of both sexes fell victim. Many family ties were torn apart, relatives fought against relatives and exterminated each other. The result was that many of our factories were moved abroad, that foreign states flourished and became rich at our expense, that new cities were founded there, and all this because a part of the French people, ostracized, naked and homeless, went abroad without guilt ..."

Between i6q9 and 7oq, *q66* of their villages will still be open to the public.

Protestants were not formally admitted to France again until a hundred years later, just before the French Revolution. Only a law passed by Louis XVI, the•7s3 ¡• Paris beheader, in November *737 declared equal rights for Catholics and Protestants.

More memorable than the misery was the splendor a s s o c i a t e d with the name and era of King Louis XIV, the immense empire and the

tum, which he and his satellites have so provocatively and conspicuously flaunted and squandered; representative of this is the new seat of government in Versailles in place of the small paternal hunting lodge that has been rammed out of the ground in a decades-long building frenzy

- where Madame de Sevigné i 7 speaks of "excessive mortality". The story of the workers -whose cartloads of dead bodies are taken away every night- is reported. She adds that "this sad procession is being kept secret so as not to frighten the builders".

Many thousands of people inhabited the castle, many thousands served, many thousands overgrew it. Ceremonial, etiquette triumph, pomp and splendor, the beautiful 5chein. **For** Cardinal Maldacchini it was "a land of milk and honey", for the Duke of Palestrina it was "a veritable brothel", while Egon Friedell now speaks of theater, a "puffed-up tale", "behind which nothing but blind greed and selfishness is concealed".

After all, the nobility from all over **Europe** now flocked here as they had before to Italy, to Rome, to Florence, in order to share in the height of the times and to carry at least a reflection, a comparatively poor shadow of it into their homeland; they sought to imitate all the splendor, all the grandeur of the grandiose Frenchman, sought themselves, h o w e v e r reduced, t o figure the - l'etat c'est moi-.

Versailles made school, and whoever went to his 5school made Debts, like that one itself. But when they returned to their "territories", as they were really called, the enchanted ones imitated the Sun King, the frivolous **Hohon,** the gallant manners, the airs and graces, they played themselves up, issued decrees such as Wil, Freiherr von etc. ..., certify and hereby confess that after having been graciously presented to us .... ." etc. They felt they wanted to show this to others, and their "states", as they were called in all seriousness, were still so small, so tiny, scoffs Eduard Vehse in his multi-volume "History of the Small German Courts", for which a stag (one is reminded of Büchner's "Lconce and Lena") jumped away with a few powerful sentences. In the Franconian town of Gelnhausen, the territory of two princes, several counts, an archbishop, an abbot and so on is said to have been crossed within six hours.

like an imperial city and free imperial knighthood have.

Even small "sovereigns" considered themselves ofr a court, with a court state, with the titles, ambitions of great courts, the manners, the so many untamed distinctions of rank and dignity and the centuries of gravitationally heated bickering about them. They had their court marshals, court councillors, court cavaliers, ladies-in-waiting, their mistresses en titre, their marstiilles and dog people, their French cooks, their guard parades; they imposed punishments -all at once- and taxes -a11erhuldreichst-. When Frederick "the Great" once passed by the imperial baron von Grote in the Harz Mountains, he greeted the king: -I am pleased to see Your Majesty on my territory", to which Frederick smiled sarcastically: -Voila deux souverains, qui se rencontrent."

There was no difference in status between Catholic and Protestant, between state and ecclesiastical courts, apart from the fact that the latter were often more lavish, more opulent than the former, and that the clergy drank more, even more, which seems to be due to tradition, if not status.

Certainly not everyone was so fond of Bacchus or your communion wine and, like Bishop Liège of the House of Bavaria in his day, loved to banquet until dawn. - However, in order to honor the truth, as always, let us remember the Elector Johann Philipp von Schönborn (i 47-* 731, Archbishop of Mainz and Bishop of Würzburg and called "the wise", who - "regularly", as Marshall von Grammont testifies, sat down to the long table with 3o commemoration from twelve noon to six o'clock in the evening {presumably all working dinners). But then, as the Marshal emphasizes, the Prince of the Church never drank more than a three-pint sip f r o m his glass. But first he drinks to the health of all the guests, then he takes the absentees, which involves an increase in the number of sips by another forty. When the gentleman has drunk in this way, he has never drunk less than six jugs, but without losing his composure in the slightest and without giving the appearance of his assumed and the

Character of the honorific dignity due to the archiepiscopal dignity to forgive anything - (Cf. esp. łV zăg f.!}"

As I said, not all the high shepherds of this war-torn time drank so much. But they were not all poor, just as the majority of their followers were, according to their Jesus.

Let's take a pars pro toto look at Salzburg.

The archbishop there, Count Paris von Lodron (iõu-iöy3), not only built the city's fortifications, but also a magnificent palace where he held court, had beautiful pleasure houses at MirabelÍ, at Helłbronn, where he liked to hunt, íisrhte, the

-The "delicious garden", the "sacred fairy fountains", but above all the "marvelous artificial theater carved out of stone" (although culture was not our subject, it was highly valued in the Baroque era, but was, as always, only an impressive pretense of barbarism and hardship). The prelate gave his family one property after another, and while he sat full and safe in his mountains throughout the Great War, thousands of people died of hunger in the plains of Germany (Vehse).

Lodron's successor, Archbishop Count Guidobald von Thun (i65Ą-1668), was not from poor parents either. During a visit to Tyrol by Emperor Leopold z 66ş, *he* gave each member of his zooo entourage a commemorative coin of a double ducat, the higher-ranking members received gold chains, and the monarch himself received prizes worth yoooo thalers. And for a planned second visit the following year, which von Thun personally tried to arrange in Vienna but in vain, he made arrangements of a similarly generous nature.

Incidentally, it was this Salzburg cardinal under whom the great persecution of the Protestants began. It was his successor, Max Gandolph Reichsgraf Khüenburg (i 6 6 —• 7).

who had7* no less thanş7 witches burned. {Rome also awarded him the cardinal's hat). His successor in turn, Johann Ernst Grdf Thun {z68y-i7 oq), offered ariläßlich a renewed the highest transit everything that was on offer,

Triumphal gates, six-horse carriages, wine gushed from the ground, and from above it rained gold and silver coins. And this, as the "Frankfurter Relationen" reported, "continued throughout the day", a thousand cannon shots were fired, one after the other, and other cannons ... fired many times-, of course high mass including Te Deum and in between, "because of the shortness of time-, quickly heated to death all kinds of "different animals", bears, wild pigs, badgers, foxes, hares, deer, chamois, -a wild ox- etc.- -everything that moves and lives, be your food"! And then again, back in the glittering torchlight castle and animated by a hundred musicians, - the healthiness drunk" ...

The successor to this prince of the church, Franz Anton Graf von HarFßC* l*7 W'7 ^7 i. decorated the archiepiscopal palace built by Lodron in Salzburg "with truly royal splendor
from ... The 73 mef, which it contained in addition to the halls and galleries, were all furnished with the richest furniture after the Versailles model, one saw here the most magnificent ceiling paintings, old porcelain of the rarest beauty, lustres and girandoles of solid silver and mountain crystal, marble tables with gold
and other equipment of immense value. The stables at the archiepiscopal palace s u r p a s s e d those of Versailles in splendor. *Harrach's large riding arena, where* carousels and wild animal fights were held, was particularly splendid: it contained three rows of boxes for the spectators. The Mirabell summer residence was completely rebuilt and furnished with the same splendor and magnificence as the winter residence in the city" (Vehse)."

Of course, the spiritual lords also maintained their jus armorum and kept their warriors.

The Bishop of Würzburg, Johann Philipp Freiherr von Greiffen-klau zu Volraths (* *99* *7*q), thus not only had an Oberhofmarschall and Oberkammerherr, but also a number of other Kammerherrs
- There were courtyards with hundreds, with "clouds" of chamberlains -, not only had a chief stable master and chief huntsman, eight noble boys from Franconia's **"**best **houses",** but the good herdsman also had a "master huntsman".

The army of io ooo men, including two cuirassier and two dragoon regiments, was also present.

Bishop Bernhard von Ga!en of Münster (i 6s 7) even leased an army of 6o ooo times as many potential cannons as he needed. +-*6 **4*OOO** Fufitrupperi, i 8 ooo riders, plus an artillery park of soo cannons and mortars, the favorite weapon of the shepherd of souls, also called - cannon bishop", who twice in the Netherlands invaded, i 7 in alliance with Louis XIV. -He remained at his side when the German Empire declared war on him, and was also so popular with his diocesans that they "would rather be the Turk's, indeed the devil's, than their bishop's."

OF THE FREEDOM OF GLAU BENS* OR STERBEP4 **AS** MtlcKEN-

Now, clashes between the diocesans and their ecclesiastical leaders were not so unusual, and clashes between the lower and upper classes were commonplace. After all, history is always and above all a struggle between top and bottom, haves and have-nots, exploiters and exploited. While a few enjoy almost every conceivable privilege, the many vegetate more or less unfree, constantly cowed and harassed, with a -legal nature like cattle- {VIII 67 ff. esp. 7s ff.!) While the few domicile in splendid villas, palaces, in hardly imaginable luxury, the many live in real hovels of misery or even, as in Holstein still in the i q. Century, with sick people, with babies in stables, without a roof over their heads. While cardinals of his sainthood While they give banquets with 7f courses, for which they order live fish from Byzantium and feed on the tongues of parrots, the uncounted often eat little more than bran, herbs and tree bark, and go to pieces in the yoke of despots.

Just think: a huge underclass, on whose crooked, battered back the whole of feudalism rests; a tiny minority, possessed by greed, lust for power, rapacity, arrogance, living mostly in luxury, and this pitifully powerless majority next to it, below it, the masses, declassed, dependent to the edge of the grave, humiliated from generation to generation, despised, hardly any other way than almost unseen, trampled into the dirt - as never before.

There have been social uprisings in Europe since the 9th century, especially peasant revolts. They multiplied in the High Middle age, they ravage the continent from England to Hungary, from Spain to Norway, often spanning classes and tribes and are usually beaten up, the Church always on the side of the oppressors.

St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and a thousand others "Saints - they all defend bondage. Even in the modern era, Catholic theology generally defended the right to slavery. At the turn of the i 6th century, the slave trade and slavery were still widespread, and the most diverse authorities and circles were involved, even grand masters of the proud Order of Knights. And neither the Bishop of Cape Verde nor the Archbishop of Lisbon had any reservations about this cruel and often bloody business and absolved its victims in confession. After all, the clergy itself has commanded armies of unfree people for centuries, and for centuries has ensured the offspring of new unfree people by the shabbiest means. And it is no coincidence that papal Rome held on to slavery the longest of all European capitals. Slaves belonged to the church property, but church property was inalienable, was holy, consecrated to God, it had, it was said, iron teeth; nothing was synodally the- **matized** more often.

In general: who fleeced the peasants more, who insisted more doggedly on serfdom, on the right of serfdom than clerical feudal lords! Bishops and abbots were often more hard-hearted than the secular nobility, just as Luther treated the peasants more brutally than even some princes; exceptions always and everywhere. The

Sentence but, under the crook is good living: Propaganda, a lie as thick as a fist that turns reality on its head.

It was not without reason that Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus, one of the most famous scholars of the German Renaissance, once exclaimed: -What is more ruthless to poor people than spirituality?- It was not without reason that even in the Middle Ages it was considered a bad omen to meet a clergyman. Lay hatred of the clergy, often concealed out of fear, was very widespread, as countless documents, such as clerical wars and clerical hunts and the frequent murder of prelates, testify. - So it was with the priesthood, where one hoarded or krigged poses, who and one asked who did it, it was said, the bishop, the priest."

Bishop Otbert of Strasbourg had already been murdered q r 3 , i i x z Bishop Gualdricus {Gaudry) of Laon was murdered, with the **cathedral** and a large part of the city going up in flames, and Bishop Galganus was murdered in Volterra, an opponent of **Pope** Alexander III t i i5p-i i8 i), who promptly granted the murderers a "dispensation of special mercy". Florence, where dogs were occasionally fed with priestly meat, was set on fire several times during the fight against Bishop Gottfried, who himself was i - 3 Vßftrieben

had been built. In Arezzo, the citizens had built the castle of their ecclesiastical

Lord conquered and destroyed, a German army had to rush to his aid, the community had to **rebuild** his **castle**. In

Rome, where despotism and revolts often barely end, it is said - see the first year of Sixtus V's pontificate - that more heads rolled than

Melons came onto the market. In Gevelsberg, the Archbishop of Cologne, Engelbert, was beaten to death by his own relatives, albeit with the help of other Christian believers, who also killed many priests. And of course there were riots against the clergy in numerous other German prelate residences, in Münster, Trier, Speyer, Mainz, Würzburg, Bamberg, Eichstätt, etc. After all, inner-city conflict was gradually "no longer the exception, but rather the rule - (Blickte).*'

Christianity has humiliated and degraded people unspeakably, with state and ecclesiastical violence, with cunning, fraud and forgery. They have been humiliated in every possible way.

The Tübingen beggars' order declares that the city of Tübingen was to remain "uncrowded and unharmed", but also to drive packs of dogs on them or, with similar delicacy, to drive blind people out of the city, as in Florence, and plague sufferers back into the sea, as in the Papal States.

One has the poor, who were also particularly affected by the forces of nature,

Climate deteriorations, severe miseries, famines, plague epidemics, also economic downturns, inflation, scandalous price increases, all kinds of usury, these people were extorted and sucked dry to the utmost, horrendous services, levies, taxes were imposed on them again and again (detailed: VIII 3rd chapter!), these were frequently increased, others were constantly invented, Pope Urban **VIII** alone at least ten. But even in lay circles, taxes were constantly being advanced under new -titles-, -for better livelihoods, for the benefit of noblemen, for elevation of status, for travel, for well cures, for marriages- etc. When an imperial count broke his leg one day, he raised a tax for many years.

*BrinbruchsCeuer".

However, it was not only in the archbishopric of Mainz that the punctual execution of all services, the punctual payment of all money and payments in kind, interest, fees and dues, as well as the exact modalities were regulated by a -painful court order. The people were punished in every possible way, including the most atrocious, and every kind of suffering and disgrace was inflicted on them. But:

-Lafit's Etich not so badly bekümmern-, Luther stirred up the nobility and, like the papacy and the papal church, betrayed the cause of the serf peasants. -The donkey wants to be beaten and the rabble wants to be ruled by force.

The situation of dependent peasants worsened again in modern times, and serfdom increased, especially in northern and eastern Germany, when the plight of many was exploited to the full after the Thirty Years' War, when discharged soldiers, servants and the dispossessed were mercilessly drawn into a network of blood-sucking

ruthlessly forced them back into bondage, and virtually recognized serfdom as a "state" in which they could live the freedom of faith undisturbed (which Pau- lus, the first Christian, already aripries to the Christian slaves) .

The -freedom of belief-. But outside of this faith, freedom was very limited, both in ancient and modern times. In 1580, two noblemen gambled for the life of their servant in Kiel. The loser killed his own. Another exchanged his servant for a dog. At that time, two thirds or more of the rural population in Germany belonged to the poor. But the situation in
the neighboring territories better at that time and later? i 648, the Advocate General Talon said in an address to the French
sian queen from the peasants of the land: - Apart from their souls, they have nothing left, and only because they cannot b e sold. To make the luxury of Paris possible, millions of innocent people have to live on bran and oatmeal. Remember, madam, the general misery in the solitude of your prayers!"

But prayers were probably not the right remedy, neither against the luxury of Paris nor against the general hardship. And on March a.
* 7 s wrote Lieselotte of the Palatinate, the Duchess of Orléans, who became famous through her letters: -My life I have never seen such a sad time as now. T h e p e o p l e a r e dying like mosquitoes from cold and poverty. [The mills are idle,
and many people have died of hunger because of it. Yesterday I was told a pathetic story about a poor woman who stole a loaf of bread from a bakery. The baker ran after the woman, she started crying and said: -If they knew my misery, they would not take my bread. I have three little children all naked, without fire or bread. - [.]

The commissioner before whom they w e r e brought said: - See what you say, for I am going with you into your house," and he went with them. As he e n t e r e d the chamber, he saw three little naked children, wrapped in rags, sitting in a corner; they were shivering with cold, as if they had a fever. He asked the eldest: -Where is your father? - 'Behind the door,' said the child. The inspector wanted to see what the father was doing behind the door.

hanged himself behind the door. The inspector was so startled that he almost froze. You hear things like that every day.

And Georg Büchner, born a century later, still sees "the great mass of citizens turned into cattle on the front line."

ANNEX

NOTES ON THE NINTH VOLUME

The full titles of the secondary literature cited are given on p. §z8 ff., the full titles of the most important sources and abbreviations in the list of abbreviations on p. 44-· Authors from whom only one work was used are usually only cited by name in the notes, the other works with keywords.

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Axe em x'niscHxn Horoc'usT
ODzh -M issiON5rRU H LixG ZU Bż-
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i Schuchert/Schiittr z
z Quote beİ tin 7
3 Smnnard X i i
d Höffner, Christianity and Human Dignity i i. Cited in Beutin, Modern times d i 6
y LhiA I ş a q .]V xy-t ff. esp. y6, i 8z. V i zqx f. dev-Atlss I i 32, i 8y. drv-Loxîkon ø, x6y. v. 97ilperc I i I pø8. Geiss I z 7ø- 78off. Marx SB f. The Great Ploecz 66y ff. 66y. Beu- tin, Ntuzeit øi y. Schuchert/Schütte 3*7 Jennings jd. Wînzer q f. Rein-hard, colonialism 6, 8f. zq {here G. Winius quoted). VöÍker-Rasor *69 H.* Vogler, Europas Aufbrucli, 3 i, No, 7i, zyq f. z8Sff. Lurz, Reforma-+'°^ 5
6 LMA I yep, II 144!' IV z 8o f. LThK Y+ zp8. dtv-Atlas I zzz. MünkÌcr/ Münkler 8 r. Gßis$ I ^7° Lf. II rq8 f. b44W45MDcC "oBcRœn6Mf ßeutin, NClizeİt 4+ 6 (here also quoting Höffner rnit QueÍlcnangabe). Wînztr i z. Reiabard, Kolonalisrßuc i z, i4' Vogler, Europas Aufbruch 3
y Kühner, Lexikori no. Münkler/ Müntler 8 z. GeÌss +7I- ^ ' °' hard, Kolonialismus i y. Bitterli 66
8 LMn II z ioi ff. IV i8 i f. LThK X' ieo9 If. 11' i tc. f. dtr-Atlas 1 zz i. Matz }8 f. Geiss I i26 ff. i8i f. x84, 11 ßI3 f. zı 6 f. I I I 4*4 Hoensbroech I y4 r. Pastor IIÎ 6t . geuûn, ƒ'Ïeuzeit 4 z8. Winzcr za f. zoo č. z z8f. zpz f. Reinhnrd, colonialism W If. z f. j 3. Vogjer, Europe's awakening z8y
q LMA I Jj 1. IV i8i f. Miinklerf **Münkler 411 ff. Geiss I 184, II 219,** III §zi. Der croße Ploetz 66y f. Wînztr i q. Reînhard, Colonialis-°^ ^°' ^* >' --- i . 34 Jenkins - Völkcr-Rosa' *s. 7*. Vogler, Europas Aufbruch 68, -8 . See also the voxlterg. Note.
zo LMA I Ş30 f. Münkler/Müitkler Ş *-4 3 jp f. Geiss 1 8 z, 1ï zz g, xjj f. IV ąąz f. The large c

Ploeiz 668. HKG IV 6o6 ff. Psscor III 6i8 ff. esp. 6zo f. Btuiin, modern times

q i y. Winier•74 f. Deschnec, Opus Disbnli ii 5. Stannard X. Reinhard, Colonialism i 8 f. 7z' v. Paczensky

493 Völkßf-Rasor 7 . 74 . Bieterli 66, 2q, Vogler, Europas Aufbruch z8 i. Lutz, Reforiiiation 8

11 Pastor Hl 6 i8 ff.

i z The little Ploetz i i3. Vogleq Europns Departure z88

13 LMA IV ^7J- e° Groft blOtt2 66S. Höffner, Christianity and Mcnschcnwtirde zj- (after Bcutin, Modern times 4 ^7l- Lutz, Reformarioit 58

^4 LMfi I yxq f. MünklerfMünkler 8 . Jennings 3 . Reinhard, Colonialism io, i y f. Voglez, Europe's awakening 6g, 7z f. Bitterli ¢ ff. 5o ff. Cf. also the following. Note.

15 Pierer lV zsq f. dr--Lnxikon q, i 66; i 3, zzt. LMA 5*7 ff. III zox5 f.

°73 ff. LThK Il- iz6q VI' qq f. VIII' ion. Geiss I i 8 i f. II z r z f. Miinkler/Miinkl^^ ®4!*. Hcinsohn 26, i qg f. HKG VI Soq f. Bcutin, NcUzcic 4 '7!- Jerutings $8. Stannard 62, 66, 195 ff. 200 ff. Winzer 72 f. $z. Reinhard, Colonialism a8.7*. 'i*00 34.* ólker-Rasor 6y. Tin r ff. d f. Vogleq Europe's departure *77 (hitr Htrodot quoted). Cf. also x8o ff. z88. Lutz, Rtformation 9. ßit't'1i ,y ii, yo fi. aff. so fi. So fi.

See also the following. Note.

i6 Pierer IY *7 . LM A 1 53°, V 1*75' LThK v1' g9 f. II- iz6q. dw-Lexicon ¥ r, y x. **Marz** $ ps 6 . Geiss I t 81, ^ ®4- *¥j. Miird'Ter/Miinkler 8 f. The Gra0e Ploerz 666, fi68 t. HKG IV So6, Soq. Winzer yzf. i xy f. Stannard *7. Reinhard, Kolo-

69. tin j f. Vogier, Europee Auf- bruch x8o. Birrerli, $s *7 ff. /Z, 74 !- 7®ff. 8j fl.

17 Picrcr I\' z7o. LjvjA I yz9 f. Y zz7j. LTfiKVPpQ. T""7

z8 LThK II' r xq8. IX' zo. Geiss I i 8i. Winemaker iq f. Bitterli 7+

iq Pierer X i j . Kelly, Reclams Lexikon z26 f. LThK II' r permissible f. VIV 6y f. Geiss I iqo. Münkler/Münkler i o6. HKG IV 6io. Deschner, Opus Diaboli -- 3 Völker-Raser 77- *- PflCZßffSlt g io8 f. (here the quotation from Thomas, G., Die poriu- giesischt lndiancrpolirik in Brasilien **1500–1640, 1968, 17). Lutz, Refor-** mztìon i ql. Cf. also yq. Kohler, Karl V., ^^9 ^3 f$.

10 HKG IV $6o_5$. Deschner, Opus Dia-

nialism io, r8, se f. V ö l k e r - R a s o r a 6 **Bitterli 216, 219 f. 223. Vgl. zur**

boli zio Rf. Stannnrd, 6gff. 74· rtinhard, Kolonisarion y'. v. Psczensày zy, io5

zi Deschneq Opus Diaboli zi i f. Cf. also Stsnnard, 67*. Zinn ff.

22 HKG I V 6io. Deschnep Opus Diaboli zi y. Nnzcr roy f. Wilson y4 f. Zin^ 7

23 Dtschntx Opus Diaboli z ioff. Reinhard, Colonialism 67

*4 LMA III xqz f. LThK II' r zq8, ^3*7 dcv dictionary z y. ^4 . Geiss Il za6. Brandi, Emperor Charles V. z yz ff.

Reinhard, Colonialism^^ 7^- >'^- zer zof. Sq, i z j. Bitierli zi i ff. ziz

zy LMA III x93. LThK III i 3zy. dtv-Lexikon i , z6o. Geiss II tz6. HKG IV 6i i. Deschneq Opus Diaboli zzo ff. Winzer 88, 13$ f. Brandi, Kaistr Karl V. i 3 ff. Stannard y ff. Reinhard, Colonialism 5q ff. Bitterli zi 8 ff. v. Paczensky z 6 ff. Zinn i i f.

Cortes' greed for gold also Reinhard, Colonialism fiq

^7 LMA III zqy. LThK I' jo8. Gciss Ill qq7. Brandi, ltaistt Catl V. i4 f. Jennings 8. Deschner, Opus Dia- boli zzo, sz¢. Wilson 3 . Bitterli

° 7- **¢. v. Patzensky 49. Stannard y ff. 8, y6 ff. Vogler, Eurnpas Aufbruch z83 aimmr aur -mtht

than xmooo inhabitants - of the Aztec capital

z8 LMfi III t$3 f. LThK II +3*7- Deschner, Opus Diabali xzz ff- Stannard y8 f. ßitterli zzö

tq Deschnet, Opus Diaboli zz3. Stan- -- d 7 -

jo LMfi III xq3 f. LThK II' i 3ty. Geist II xx6. HxG IV 6 i i f. Brandi, Kai- ser Karl V. 37q f. Winzer i36, r . Jennings s i. Drschneq Opus Diabo- li 223 f.

31 Winzer io8. Reiahard, Colonialis- mOS 63. Birterli i j z f. Lutz, Reformation 58

32 LMA III zqz. Geiss If z33 f. The Gro& Plottz * ' *94 f. Hcin- son 8 x. HKG ÏV 6' j ff. Brandi, Emperor Charles V z8z ff. hinder zz, i y f. Srannard ®7*- Blttr£l' ^4° ff. 248 ff.

33 Winzer q f. Stannard 7 If. Bitterli xi i

34 Bitierli u J ff. zGolf. zy6, z$8 f. z6 i, xö3 ff. iy i, zyj, j3q, to whom I am particularly indebted here.

35 LThK II- i zq8 f. HKG IV 6 i t. Pure hard, KotOftfälf5fft°^ 7°- ' ^°^ 3f

j6 Fricderici, G., Der Cbarokrer det Discover°^B and conquest of America by the Europeans i qs /rq36 II yd6. Quoted from Beoiin, Modern Times 443 *. Vogler, Europas Aufbrucii z88 f, Lutz, Reforinarion 6i

37 Geiss I i qq, 11 zq , zj i. Stein, Kul- tUFftll4f l^^ 7i- Bent in, Neuzeit 444 Winzer j a. Deschnez, Der Ma- lach zo

8 Winzer 32f. 75f. 114, 196f. 215, z i y

y q Geiss II z o, x¢q f. ;f.§3 f. ut

fo Modern times ¢ d d . Winzer 33 f. i 66 f. Deschner, Der Moloch *4. ^9- 3* Bitierti 383 f.

40 LThK III' z6q, VII I' 745-d>- Lexicon i o, 6i, Ceiss I zer ff. II zö8 fI. Winter 3j f. Dtschntq The Molo£h zq ff. Wilson 77 ff. Bitterli 384, 391 f.

4 * Win2tr 3§ 13¢ f. Dtschner, Der Mol ch o ff. Bitierli j83 f.

4*Geiss I 206. Jennings 177 ff. Winzer 3¢. Dcschner, Der Moloch 3¢f. 5ö. Tin 1.3 $.

43 Deschner, The Moloch 36

44 Picrer X $4- LThK V' i ty 5. VI' *79 f. Geise I ao6 ff. Jennings i. Deschner, Der Moloch jo' 34- i7 ff. Reinhard, Colonialism ioq

45 Deschner, Der MoJoch a3 ff. o. ßit- terli 3q8 ff. Cf. Wilsnn ö$ff.

46 Geiss 11 z8 i f. Winzcr i 32. Desch- ner, Der Moloch ii, L8. 3Z- 4° ff.

47 Friedcrici, The character of development cover 111.366 {s. Note 36), quoted from Bcutin, NgUz " ê44, ebcnso F. Blanke. -jennings yo, z8z If. zzz /f. Deschneq Der hlolnh d i f. dy If. 7 Wflxn 87d. ba. pof Wnn *4.

48 Beuö,New '44.DesAnqDer Moloch zö ff. yo ff. } 6 ff. Reinhard, Colonia]ism i iq. Bitterli jqy. Tin i z

t9 Pierer III 6 i 8. Geiss 1 zoz, ziq, zx6, *zz9, III* ff. Stein, Kultur- fahrpla- ® 14- >euiin, Neuzeit §3.

Winzer 36f. 44f. 126f. 142f. 178f. Reinhard, Colonialism roy f. i x z. ßitierli 38 , j8s. i9^ -4°4- q i z ff.

f °' <'* 444 f. Dcschner, The Molech 47. li, Tin i6

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Schweiz – Zwingli und Calvin

y **Zit,** b¢i Plöse/Vogler zoj f. Ygl. aucft LThK VII' y68 f.

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3 Branch j6ff.

4 HEG III i 3

} Geist II zz3 ff. The Grooe Ploerz 73 - 7 ' Sandi, Emperor Charles V. zer. Schom-Schütte yof. Kohler, Karl Y. zi f. 66, y4 ff. q8 ff. zzof.

*4O,*4*f. *49' *9 ' *74, * kun,RJormaonz*f.z K

ö Geiss II xxv f. a3 y. Der Groor Ploetz 74' 7*f. Erdmann, Dit Niederer-öffnung z8z f. Brandi, Kaixer Karl V. q6q ff. esp. q7x. Schom steps y f. j 9 If. ö . Kohler, Qoellen zoo ff. esp. zou. Kohlez, K9rl V. z$ If. z6 ff. 76 If. 8of. i 8 ff. i 88, zoq, 3 j 3. Lutz, Reformaiio- i*. 49. 5*. 56, 66

2 Geiss II z37- Der Grn& Ploetz 675 ' Taddey s4. 4°9- <retSchmayr III t3 f. esp. R8 If. Brandi, Emperor Karl *4.* zq6 If. Schom-Schütie 3 , 7ö. Lutz, Reformation zi f. 5 f. cf. also i 6 ff.

8 Geiii IV qj q, Brandi, Emperor Charles V.

77 - ^7 I iO $f. I 4iJ ^ f 7 ' 3.5.1 - Kohler, Karl Yi öz ff. qz, x r y, zy 5 f. *z9 z.* Schom-Schütt• 7. I9 ff. aq, ¢ , 47- Lulu, Rcformarion zi f. ö8 f.

q Piertr XIII *tss*- Der Kleint Ploetz i 8, \ z i, i z8 f. The Big Plocrz 8o§, 8o8, ro8a. Buckceis p1

ro Sautter §$z. LThK X' IS*4!- HEG III z zg, 6y6. HKG IV E6x ff. t6$ff. 76y ff. Cf. Zwingli's 67 Article I jzj in Köpf, Deutsche Ceschich- re III z36 ff. Aland, Repetit. III 8 . Mencel 11 t6 f. Htrgeoröther i II 6zf. Knöpfle6 Textbook j83 f.

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zz Ibid.

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• KB PITSL

DisGxcExR ORæaæOsBE&œNT

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nS*OROS BCTETR}DEW N*SvNODUC.

(1545-1563)

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$. KA PITEL

IcNxzzus vox Lozoc' (i ypt-ryy6)

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MACHT WELTFOLITI l¢

r Matt/Rahfltf 3OT

x Huonder 3

3 Judges aq

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y v. Hoensbroec*. 4 years)esuit 11 y3

6 GG] (Founding texts of the Society of Jesus) j f. Huonder XIV Fülöp-Miller kg. MarcuS6 3 j f. Martffiabner r y f. Tellecheo i ', **32, 35, 38, 42 f. Maron 87. Kiechle** i i ff. lgnatius, report of the pilgrim z y f. zo. L. Müller, fgnatiuc of Lo- yola encounter zj, j z f.

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Kiechle i 5 ff. zi ff. zy ff. 3of. 67. *Ignaïvy* Bericht des Pilgen j7 f. Im. 2 $ U. I f.4 ff. i 3 ff. a3 ff. L.

MülTcs fgnatius of Loyola encountered

rien zsf. sqf. 3 y f. 3q ff. io6 f.

p GT n 4' ^7* 3H 33- ST 5 +- 53- S7- ****' 7 83' 94' 9§' IOI ION@ +4'**

11 y, 1z1, z z3. z 6p u. o.

io GT n. z9 ff. 8y

i i GT n. ' 46

z z CT n. 88, z z §

3 GT - s . . s f.. ss- ss. "8

iq CT n. 8, jp, §^- 43- 44- 47 J§, 6o, 7+- 91' 87' 98* '4S* '5'

z GT n. z8y. Cf. GT p. j j, p. jyj

Note z

z 6 doctor y. kfai without naming the reason; on io. July: elch weifl not. -; on io. August. -I do not remember. -; V° ^4 --8th A u g u s t -I was ill"; no tearful entries also follow on z6. Novembrz, on zx, x3, y and s6. December as well as Ye-m 13th -i 9th Jani- ar and before z6th -j i January.

+7 GT n. 3 38' 39' 45 f . j fi t § 3 8.1 fi4, roz, zo6, zop, 7 zo, r z8, z4 z , i6q

r 8 GT 4' ^ * ' 3I, So, 6a- 7k 77- S- io7' i 6z, i 66, 3o8, 3jz ff. GGJ S. y. LThK X' z6y. Huonder zo, yy, 58 ff. di, io4, i8y ff. Erb, **Zrugen** z6S. Richter, Martin Lother i 68 ff. **Marco 57**

iq GGJ i, 3z. GT n. -t, 6, i z, i , i 8, xy, zy, zq, 3 i, 3s, 36, y5, 6t, 63, *4- *7- 7*- 73- 74- 7*- 3-" S- ®7- 88, 8y, yz, y§, pp, roo, loz, ic,7, zzi *4, iz*,Tzj,zz4,*z8ij6, **I40, I42, I43, I44, I52, I56, I64,** z yz, ¢ 8 o , t8j, z Bj and others LMA VIII

^734 tf. LThK X' 8'o ff.

xo GGj p. z II. CT n- 87s S4- 77- ^®5

t i GGJ p. 8t f. n. *99*

zx GGj p. ja ff. 40 x ff. p. 44 ^- 4- P. 77 n. q . P. 8z ff. n. qq, ion, p. 38 i. Kempf i 5. Fülöp-Miller 6y ff. Huonder zo, zz f. 5 f. ig, Marcuse 58 f. 7*f. Matu'Rahner i zy. Tel- ltchca i39 ff. i z ff. Kiechte *7- yj f. Maron y z ff. Ignatius, Btrichi of the Pilgcrs zo, z$ f. z$, z, g r, ,

47- 6Olf. $ $, zoo. ïVfülleq fgnatius of Loyola encounter bij

23 GGJ p. 3i f. n. z8, zg. p. 48 n. y4, p. 8o n. q8. GT 8.3 A 33' 7+' 9' +°5 - GT szr, axs, a , zz5, zaq, sy i,

*3A*3J *34'*57 W8 *4° *4 V$.jon i.Cem 7, g8. Apk Perr. 6 II. za, z7, z8. Tert. speer. o, Tert. pat. 8; io. Epistle of Jude S If. z. Pttt. t, i If. Cypr. drmetr. ry u. zq.

Lsct. div. ineen7.--.7 Cyrilï v. Jerusalem cat. i8, i q. Methodiui, de re- 4Urf. 3,1 r, i If. The 5etz of Thomas, Summa Theologica 111. suppl. q. q a, i is discussed by Nietzsche, Zur Genealogit of morality i, i not in the word aloud. Ignatius of Loyola, Die Geistlichen Obungen (Weishandl) q ff. Vgi. also Deschntr, Abtrmals io9 If. v. Hoensbroech, i Jahre Je- sott f1.33, Toodi, Die Jesuiten i qo. lgnaiius von Loyola, Ceistliche Übungen (Kiiauer) fi ff.

25 GGJ S. zS n. iq, zo. S. jd n. y i. Vgi. also the preceding and following. Note.

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Kitchle sql. 6f. qz, 6q f. 69. man ^4 +7' Sd ff. 6i ff. Bothmer, H. cited in Mnron 86f. Ignatius, report

dts Pilgrrs it f. t8, 33, 5 , j8 ff. 6t, 6t ff. L. ktü1Iec, Jgna¢ius of Loyo- la meet y, 56 f. 66 ff. Ignatius, Spiritual Exercises lKnauer) rof.

*7 Abtr Ignstius knows how to do this power, to show off, to foreshadow the immense, to give nothing away. So on February i z. he thanks i § for the -so great advice received and co great clarity ... as msn cannot explain it- (y yp/z z f.). On February i 5, he spoke of -so great a uniqueness that it could not be scÏscribed° (j6y/y 7). ATn z6. February he feels -many considerable, pleasant and (gcist- lithe) very spiritual insights- f3*fi*3 fiT- *^ 9- ÊCbruar he will be °me many {spiritual) EinsicÏitcn or spiritual memories of the Most Holy Trinity" {36 /5 i J. On zo. February he admits that he -with a few insights ..., with a few insights- mugic {321/j8). Also on z3. February he gains only -some light lt1arity- (j73/6y). On Sunday, ann z. l tiirz, he even ends the mass -without any insights- (38z/gd J.

- Cf. also Huonder 5.6 Tellechea zo, st. Maro- s-*f. Ignatius, Be- richt dts Pilgcrs p. t6 f.

z8 Msron 6q f. Ignstius, Report of the Pilgrim i. L. Müller 3 If.

zq *°°^ 3 7i f.

jo Huonder zoof. Cf. also GGJ p. 538 f. Tondi, Die Jesuite- i7 ff. Engel, HEG lil r 67

3 ' Huonder zo3. Maron i 83 f.

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u. S. iyy

y. K A PfiTE R

Dee Conrsssiox'risx4uS BEGIflNT

i J. Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dßM AusW-B des Mittelalters, quoted in Lutz, Reformation 117

z Citation ibid. i i 8

3 LThK I- r y B. HEG 111 iy i ff.^4° f. Pasror VII 3 S.H.R. Schmidt, Konfessionalization t ff. - *- 3 ^. 51 (here **the Zicat by** Ronnie Po-chia **Hsia). S. 95 das Zitat von Zeeden.** ' ie ff. Reinhard, **Ausgewählte Ab**handlungen i zy, i zq. Koch, Das konfessiontllt Zeitalter griff. ^^9 - °^^'^^°° 97- O6 f. Körber q i , io i. Weif'i, Katholische Reform q i f. Vogler, Europas Aufbruch zj, 30, y f. Eberhard 89 ft. brs. xor ff.

q LThK 1' y6o. HEG III l3j. Pastor **IX 473 f. 487. Blickle 67 f. 70 f. (da** also the Zitoie of Schilling and H.R. Schmidt). S. nuch Blickle 7i. 84, s7' io8, H.R. Schmidt, Konfes- SfoffäSiSf °^B 9. 3f. *3 f. (here the Ziiat by G. Strauss with literature note}. Vgi. zuch H.R. Schmidt, Pazifizierung des Dorfcs ioif. z z_b If. W. Schuine, Deutsche Geschichie im i 6. jaiiriiundwt z8 If. z9o. Jendorff, Reformatio Catholica ioo, io8 f. Körber q y. Vogleq Eiiropas Aufbruch zq ff. zqq, zq6 ff. 3oi f. 3 i7 f. 3zi ff. 3sy ff. 3zq ff. **405 ff.**

5 Bljckle7 o, here Brady and Dickens quoted. Reinhard, Ausgewählœ Ab- hand1uns-^ +4 f- H.R. schmidt, Konfessiooalîsierung qff. 8öff. Schnabel-Schüle, Kirchenzucht ale Verbrechensprävention 6o. Körber 9y. Yogler, Europe's awakening yy,
3 f ff.

6 LThK IV' 8oi f. HEG 1.1.1 i yd ff. i66 ff. t. Pastor V z-;3 f. 5chulze, Deuuche Geschichte im i 6. Jshr- huaderr zo#ff. H.R. Schmidt, Koiifessionalization l f. - . f7' 8£ ff, q i ff. Brecht, Protcstantischc Kirchcnzucht §1 44 !- Reinhard, Ausgewählte Abhandlungen i z , I ^7' 14° . Körbcr q f. Vogler, Europe's Awakening 5 j, 3 i i ff. Lutz, Reformation 68

7 H. R. Schmidt, Konfessionalisierurig 11$b. 19- I7- 6of. 66 Schilling, Kirchenzucht i 8 ff. z6 ff. Brecht, Procestancische Kirchertz--*+ 43!* 5cĬinabel-Schüle, Kirchcnzucht "ls CrimeS ¢ävgf\tiOf\ 49 !!!- ^ ' b¢r y6

8 FRStOf Xl ^47 ff. H.R. Schmidt, Conf¢sionalization lzff. zg ff. s7 f. so ff. po. Zimmermann u. Zeeden zi'. ibid. cf. also 1 above. Reinhard, Ausgewählte Abltandlungen 86. Vogler, Europas Aufbruch 3*9 *!- 4.5

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Europe's awakening ss. Lutz,
Reforma"°° 7 ^

z z LThK IY' W7' HKG IV yj6. Men-
Afl I 4Ij f. Pastor IX 5q¢If. X 3$
Zff. Hengst i86, i 88. Schopp-
meyer The Bishop of P. io6 If. Zi-
tot i i z. Schönemann I 6q6 If. Koch,
The confcssioaetle Zcitatter 8z, es
H. R. Schmidt, Kotifesiionslisicrung
t If, i o, i 8. Lanzinn'° 47 f, Lutz,
RefomsüP^ 7^*. Vogler, Europas
Aufbruck yy. 6ei8, Ksthoïische Re-
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kon- fessionelle Zeitnlttr.
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Katholiuht Rtform
91 ff.

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x83, VIII i 8i, i 83, i 8q, q , IX
s --. Ii3. * 3-'. i33. i7°. -f
7
and ofi

15 Pastor VIII Ty6f. The remaining
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and priories, writes von Pastor,
-They are either completely
abandoned or are taken over by
monks from other orders, in some
cases even by a few monks.
%e]tpriesTcm ... inhabited

16 HEG III q3 f. i y'. P8scor VI i 66
note i. VII 3i$3. H.R. Srtmidr,
Confessionalization zy f. x8, yo,
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6. Kapitel
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II
^57

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II y,
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Genoa

y Kelly, Reclams LexfkO^ ^97- LThK '
' 7s*. HoensbfM*. ^4 years
Jesuit II cq f. r65 f. Schnürer q i If.
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Dülmen 1Z3

7 von Pastor V 391 ff. 427ff. 439,
8, yr8 f. Yl z 37

8 LTht¢ IV' ro2pf. *!' ^79- HKG IV
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star V q38 f.

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Yll ¢3zff. VIII 3qo. X i 3 y, XI i 37.
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11 j3 ff. j6 If. Deschneq But again
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45 LThK Vl' I 3ąą. Pastor Yt r8 z. Ygl. iqz f. Meœ 6n If. ö9. Panzer 68 f. 7* - 7* ff.

46 Pastor Vt r 8 r, i 83 f. zor, xo8. Mch 63, 66 f. Vogler Europe's awakening ' 57 Eßr° 7*° ° 7 +' 73 ' 7 8o, 8z.

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14 74• 78s Taddcy 86d f. dv- Lexicon j, Eyy. HEG !V zy. The **Gro0c** Ploetz 68t. The Klcine Ploerz 33' +44- Hergenröiher hl 89 ff. Prtss 3$8 ff. Kramer öoq f. Brcgns- bo j66 f. Duchhardt, Europa am Vozab¢nd der Moderne ^4 *- - !!- Ders. Absolu'ismus 7, 87. Ders. Altes Reich i 5 f. Kunisth, Absolutis- **mus 130ff. 145 ff.**

15 I am Hans Rons here throughout £qz et seq.

i 6 Ma 78- Elly, Rcctsms Lexicon 303. the big Ploetz 8zx f. The small Ploen i3o, i y f. HKG V ^7- Bihlmeyer III i88. Kretschmayr i1i 3zoff. y i3 ff. y 6 ff. Pastor XIVf i, qz, z5y ff. z6j ff. z6y, 38 , q8 H. 6o6 ff, Hiller, Feind im Frieden y93 f. oo ff, Fenske 7 f. jansky, Osrnancnhcrrschaf\ 76 f. Rhode, Ungam6^ i f

17 Pasor X1Vx, 6y6, 6g j L 699 7zp 737' 74^' 7SO IL 7§S IL 77j ff 7 ofl. 79 ' 3- *f

r8 Pierer XVI yjz. Mern z4 f. 77 f. LThK VI' i iox. The Great Ploetz

a cartload directly to him, and

68j, pzy, yz$. The Little PToecz i 3q ff. i¢8. **HKG** V **ijo** ff. uq.

°^ 4 - a8ff. Vehxe III z3 f. ^44' ^56* Pä5tor XIVfz- 99 ' 7 l-74^*- 7ypff. Hartmann, History of France j f. Lurz, Italy 898 f. <-° +4° ff. Fenske 83. Wagner, Einheit i q ff. 3i ff. Duchhardt, Eu- ropa am Vorabend der Moderne *6$ t*+ 17® ' Mchler/MIk^^ ^S7-

Kampmann 6z. See also j Hof.

iq Pitrer l V 347. dt--Lexikon z,

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zo Vehse IV z z, z88 ff. q3. Foerster, The world of the Baroque z6z ff. Fricdcll

94 ff. bes. 104 f.

ii Vehse 1 i d5, III ii i, IV z38 *49-t9o ff.

zz Of course, others also survived Bishops in a similar way and certainly not so bad. Barnberg's chief shepherd, Fuchs von Dornheim, for example, the zealous burn- er of soo witches and sorcerers along with all five of the town's burghers, had long since absconded when the Schwe- dcc z6 z took Bamberg. In return, ez sent his orders from the hinterland, the Upper Palatinate, in the old geaeral way; he ordered a r3. February atrseiri

•t cartload of wine from the threatened Forchheim to the Eiappt,

On the other hand, hundreds of centimeters of powder and fuses from the Upper Palatinate to Forchheim, in closer proximity to the front, so to speak. Headline in **Looshorn's** diocesan skill: -Wisdom and care of the bishop from the Ftrite-.

It was only in Tilly's apron and in his house that the venerable witch hunter returned to Bamberg, as did his canons and all the others,

whose lives were so much more valuable than those of the - common - subjects. Of course, when the Swedes reoccupied Damberg in 1633, ßisrbof and Dontkspitel were mostly etncuȼ far from the firing line. And again - - wisdom and care of the bishop from afar - - the good shepherd, while the dear little sheep perished even more, died of hunger, of the plague, sent from afar words of comfort and perseverance, hoping, he warned, -the poor people will not be completely ruined by the Soldsdesca, would (similar to many of the wishes of the soldiers under Hitler during the Second World War) be loyal and faithful and announced - from Carinthia - his intention to - come closer to the borders of silence.

At that time, most of the upper-class Christian lords and many nobles had **fled to** Osierreich, to Constance or Cologne, where the bishops of Mainz, Worms, Würzburg, Osna- brück and others could be found at times, the city was doth extremely fortified and no one sit stit ia88 conquered and no one also sthr, very lsng after the Triennial War.

cf. also Vehse I I i 3q ff. LooshornDeschner , Opus Diaboli i 8 f. of.

+ ' *4° *44 *qo ff. xqq.

the in jKGV57. Deschner,Opus Diaboli

Wai-J6 ff. 6I f, ßlickle q6 f.

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z3 Vehsc IIff. +47-

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Augenzeugen-24 Ibid. zzo f. z j f. 3zoff. Schöffer reports 35 f. Dtschner, Opue Dia-

‹37 Duchhsrdt, Altes Reich

i6boli y , 8, 6o. See also Cer-

25 Eppelsheimer z55. DümmlerIII

manroy ff. Kosttän i i3 ff. Rudtrt

39 z I. Devidsohn 1 36y, 38 i ff. q i 8f.

is * 377· ends 3qq ff. io ff.

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HKG: Handbuch der Kircherigeschichte, ed. by H. Jediri. 6 ßde.
HZ: Historische Zeitschrift i 8 q ff.
JKGV: Yearbook of the Kölnischer Ge- schichtsverein
Jude: Epistle of Jude
JWG: Yearbook for Economic History
Lact. div. inst.: Lactanz, divinae institutiones
LMA: Lexicon of the Middle Ages, q ßde, Munich, Zurich iq8o/iqq8
Mcihod. de resurr.: Methodius of Olympus, De resorreciione
x. Peter: x. Epistle of Peter
QFIAB: Sources and research from Italian archives and libraries, Rome i 8qy H.
Terr. spect.: Tertullian, De spectaculis
Tert. pat.: **Terrul)ian, De patientiB**
W LG: Westerrriann Lexikon der Geo- graphie, Bdt, Braunschweig 9 97°
ZBK: Zeitschrift fiir bayerische Kirch<ng< chichtc, Gunzonhausen iqz6 ff.
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Deschner was born on z3 hłai iqz in ßaaiberg øcborrn. His father Karl, a forester and Catholic farmer, came from the poorest of backgrounds. His mother Msrgarete Køroline, née Rnisrhbõck, Protestant, grew up in her father's castles in Franconia and Lower Bavaria. She later converted to Catholicism.

Karlheinz Deschner, the eldest of three children, went to elementary school in Tros- scnfurt lsteigtrwald) before iqa9 bİ8 t$33 then to the Franciscan seminary in Detrel- bach am Main, where he initially lived with the family of his taut and confirmatory godfather, the clerical councillor Leopold Baumsnn, Tann tin franzîskanerklostrrr. You iqjş to+94* he attended the Alte, Ntue and Deuuche Gymnasium all Intematsschüler bri Karmeliærn and Engliørheø Fräulcin in ßamberg. At*94* he tended
the marriage examination. Like all his peers, he immediately enlisted as a war volunteer and was a soldier - wounded several times - until he was a captain, finally a paratrooper.

He first studied forestry at the University of Munich, then attended the School of Philosophy and Theology in ßamberg, where he studied law, theology, philosophy and **psychology.**
Lectures. From iqş7 to i q5 r, he studied New German Literature, Philosophy and History at the University of Würiburg and completed his doctorate with a thesis on Lrnau's poetry as an expression of metaphysical despair.
Dr. phil. His marriage to Elfi Tuch in the same year produced three children, Kaja l i qş i), %rhel l iq58) and Thomas (iq q to iq8q).

*-- 9^4 his rq6q Deschner lived at a former residence of the Wünbur- *ger* prince-bishops in Tretzendorf steigerwald), then for two years in the country house of a **friend in** Fischbrunn (Hersbruckcr Switzerland). He then lived in Haßfun 8m Main.

Karlheînz Descbntr has published novels, literary criticism, essays, aphorisms and, above all, historical works critical of religion and the church. Over the years, Deschner has fascinated and provoked his audience in over two thousand lecture series.

+97I He stood trial in Nuremberg - away from church abuse.

Since 197° Deschner has been working on his great "Crimina1 History of Christianity". Since there are no posts, research fellowships, honorary fellowships or endowments for such unruly and restless spirits as him, his enormous research work and performance was only possible thanks to the selfless help of a few friends and friends, above all thanks to the support of his generous friend and patron Alfred Schwarz, who was present at the publication of the first volume in September 1986, but did not live to see the second volume, which has since been published by the German entrepreneur Hcrben Steffrn.

In the summer semester i q8y, Deschaer took up a lectureship at the University of Münster on the subject of the criminal history of Christianity.

Karl Heinz Deschner was awarded the Arno Schmidt Prize - after Kotppen, Wollschläger and Rühmkorf - for his commitment to enlightenment and his literary work, and in June i9 3 - cheekily Waltßf Jtns, Oitttr Hildebrandi, Gerhard Zwerenz, Robert Jungk - with the Alternative Büchner Prize and in July i qq3 - after Sakharov and Dubéek - as the first Dtutschtr to receive the International Humanist Award. In September, Deschner received the Erwin Fischer Prize from the International Confederation of Confessionalism and Arhites, in November the Ludwig Fcuerbach Prize from the Federation for Intellectual Freedom, Augsburg *°°4 the Wolkam-von-Eschenhach Prize from the district of Middle Franconia, zoo6 the Prcmio let- ttrsrio Giordano Bruno, Milan. In the same year, Deschner was elected as a foreign member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, *7 which was founded in 8o. The Academy was founded by the Giordano Bruno Scifiung.

-Deschner Prize- for the first time in a ceremony in the auditorium of the University of Frankfurt

The prize was awarded to the British evolutionary theorist and critic of religion Richard Dawkins.

The -criminal history of Christianity- is the subject - pro and contra - of the video film by Ricarda Hinz and Jacques Tilly entitled -The hsß- filled eyes of Htrm Dtschntr-. To bnithen via: Humanistischer Verband Deutschlands, Wallstta8e 6i--6 , io t y9 Brtlin.

THE LITERARY WORK
KARLHEINZ DESCHNERS

The book publications in *chronological order*

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*9f7 *What do you think of the* Cér*srent'"ti* i 8 answers to a survey

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1958 sun. novel

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Karlheinz Desrhntr's books have been and are being translated into Arabic, English, French, Greek, Italian, Dutch, 1 orwegian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian and Spanish.

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